AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

Wars of Ireland.

Let this be Printed,

March 2. 165⅔

Charnock Heron.

A CONTINUATION OF THE IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE Wars of Ireland,

From the Time that Duke *Schonberg* Landed with an Army in that Kingdom, to the 23*d*. of *March*, 169½. when Their Majesties Proclamation was published, declaring the War to be ended.

Illustrated with Copper Sculptures *describing the most Important Places of Action.*

Together with

Some REMARKS upon the Present State of that Kingdom.

By *GEORGE STORT*, Chaplain to the Regiment formerly Sir *Tho. Gower's*, now the Earl of *Drogheda's*.

LONDON:
Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. M DC XC III.

TO THE

KING'S

Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Great SIR,

THO I'm no Soldier my ſelf, yet four years Converſation with men of that Profeſſion has emboldened me to Addreſs Your Sacred Majeſty, not for Your Royal Protection againſt the future

Attacks of thoſe who will call the Account I have given of their management in Ireland, *A new making War upon them; Nor to ask Your Majeſty's Patronage to a Work ſo imperfect, which would be a Preſumption impardonable: But with the deepeſt ſenſe of Duty, and humbleſt Submiſſion, to beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for adventuring formerly to publiſh ſome part of Your Majeſty's Generous Actions, and Hazardous Undertakings in that Kingdom; and now for my Ambition in repeating the ſame, which will always be a Subject far beyond the reach of ſo mean a Pen as mine.*

I have nothing to value my ſelf upon, but the honour of being imployed in Your Majeſty's Service ever ſince Your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, encouraged thereunto for thoſe Reaſons amongſt many more, That all Engliſh-men *who have a pretenſion*

pretenſion to the Title of being Brave, never had a more happy opportunity of recovering and maintaining the Ancient Glory of this once moſt renowned Kingdom, than under the Auſpicious Conduct of Your Sacred Majeſty; by whoſe Great Example many of thoſe whoſe very Conſtitutions were of late ſoftned with Eaſe and Pleaſure, are now invited to Feats of Arms worthy the Off-ſpring of their Anceſtors. And what greater Comfort and Satisfaction can Men of any other Profeſſion receive, than in ſeeing Your Majeſty ſtill ſo zealous in the defence of that Intereſt, which themſelves have ſo great a ſhare in?

May Your Majeſty therefore, and Your Royal Conſort, be as happy in Dutiful and Obedient Subjects, as we are under Your moſt Prudent and Gracious Government; to which no man can bear a greater Zeal, nor pray more

heartily

heartily for Your Majesties long Life, Health, constant Prosperity and Glory, than

Your MAJESTY's

Most Loyal, most Dutiful,

and most Obedient Subject,

GEORGE STORY.

THE

THE PREFACE.

HE that endeavours to give an Account of ſo many mens behaviour as muſt needs be concerned in three Active Campaigns, is ſure to want neither Envy, nor Detraction; ſome finding fault with one thing, and ſome with another; ſo that it is impoſſible to expect or hope for the pleaſing of all Parties; nor indeed is it fit to endeavour it: The Reputations of men however are tender things, and therefore every prudent man, when he has occaſion to touch them, will be careful to do it very nicely. And yet it happens often to thoſe that write, that either through heedleſneſs they diſoblige ſome that do not deſerve it; or out of raſhneſs provoke others that may make them repent it; in which Caſes there ſometimes needs an excuſe for Offences given, even where they never were intended.

Thoſe, and a great many other Conſiderations, have not frighted me from medling with a Subject, wherein not a few of the moſt eminent Per-

ſons of our Age have born a part; and the rather, becauſe I find it has laid all this while neglected; and not any one as yet, beſides my ſelf, has undertaken it (except in ſome ſmall Collections out of our publick News.) I endeavoured two years ago to give the World a true Account of the Matter of Fact, as it happened the two firſt Campaigns, and how Matters then ſtood with both the Armies. And this bore the name of, *An Impartial Hiſtory of the Affairs of* Ireland *the Two laſt Years*; wherein I was deſirous to make the Book it ſelf anſwer its Title; and alſo to ſhew the great hopes there was then in gaining the whole Kingdom in a ſhort time after; which I am next about to ſhew you how it fell out, ſo far as I have been able to make an enquiry into it. But ſince it's probable that the Firſt Part has not reached ſo many Hands as this may, I have here repeated ſome of the moſt material Paſſages from the beginning, and added ſome few things that I have been informed of ſince I writ the other; tho my main Deſign is to be as particular in the laſt Campaign, as I have been formerly in the other two, which was done by way of Journal; as this is alſo, when you come to the end of the Abridgment: In all which put together, you have the Principal Occurrences from Duke *Sconberg*'s landing in that Kingdom, till Their Majeſties

ſties Proclamation, dated at *Kenſington*, *March* the 3*d*, 169⅘. Declaring that War to be ended; with ſome further Obſervations about the paſt and preſent Circumſtances of that Nation.

The Blood ſpilt, and Treaſure ſpent, in this unhappy War, has doubtleſs been a ſufficient Grievance to both Kingdoms; yet we have no great reaſon to be out of humour at it now, there being at that time an apparent neceſſity for it; by which the War is alſo removed to a greater diſtance, till we can gain a Firm, Honourable, and Laſting Peace from abroad, that ſo Their Majeſties may be at leiſure to free their own Dominions from the Vices and Corruptions of a Licentious Age.

But I am no Politician; and therefore what I have to offer in behalf of this Undertaking of mine, is only this; That it was the honour I had for the Memory of that Great Man Duke *Sconberg*, and a deſire to ſet the World right at that time in their Judgments, how Matters ſtood with both Armies, which put me firſt upon the Deſign. And the favourable Acceptance that my firſt endeavours met with in *Ireland*, has encouraged me to continue them; though I muſt be ſo grateful as to own the kind Reſentments of ſome in my own Countrey alſo, and particularly thoſe of my Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who

has been pleaſed, not only to commend the Undertaking, but to honour me with the Correction of ſome of my Papers with his own Hand, and alſo with an Account of the reaſons for ſome Particulars, that before I was in the dark for want of.

I hate to clog Truth with any Artifice; nor is there any occaſion for ſuch an endeavour, ſuppoſe I had an inclination or skill to do it; for whilſt things are freſh in every ones memory, if a man ſhould be guilty of any notable and wilful Miſtake that way, there are a great many able to find it out. I have done the Subject therefore no injury, but by my own defects, which by this means I have expoſed to the publick Cenſure of all People.

I have ſeen a great part of the moſt notable Adventures however, from the beginning to the end, and want only skill to give a good Account of them. By-ſtanders commonly ſee more than thoſe actually ingaged in Battel; here every man is tied to his Poſt, and minds the Buſineſs only that is before him; when thoſe that are Lookers-on, have nothing elſe to do but to obſerve: So that wherein I have been defective in this Point, is more for want of Judgment than Opportunity; and thoſe that are Judges in the Military Art, I hope will pardon me where I have made uſe of Terms that are not proper to that Profeſſion. But beſides what

what Obſervations I have been able to make my ſelf, I have had the benefit of ſeveral *Diaries*, and ſome of thoſe writ with good skill; I have look'd over all our Publick Accounts too, and been freely allowed the advantage of ſeveral Publick Papers and Letters at the Secretary of War's Office, and other places; ſo that you have all that I know of the matter; and I hope it's no crime in me to know no more than I do; tho I will not warrant what I have ſaid from being guilty of ſeveral Miſtakes; for men relate things generally as they conceive 'em; and of many that have ſeen the ſame thing, few there are that relate it alike, every one ſpeaking of it according to his own Notions, or as his mind is turned by clear or confuſed Conceptions; which alone may be ſufficient Encouragement to any judicious Undertaker to be at the pains to compleat the Work, eſpecially when they ſee a thing of that Importance ſo ſlovenly managed: Tho I am the firſt that has chalked out the way, and have ſome Reaſons to believe, that whoever writes afterwards upon this Subject, will take more upon Truſt than I have done.

There is already publiſhed *An Account of the State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland *under the late King's Reign*; moſt of whom found it true by experience what is there at large related; which is the reaſon that

at

at this day in *Ireland* you'l find no *Jacobites* but *Papiſts*. Some of whom I hear have made it their boaſt, That they have anſwered that Book; but I'm ſufficiently aſſured, That the Reverend Author who writ it, is able to make it good: And what credit one of the *Romiſh* Faith, and an *Iriſh* Evidence too, will gain by contradicting pure Matter of Fact, any ſober man may eaſily foreſee. Sir *Richard Cox* has alſo been pleaſed to ſay, That he will oblige the world with a Third Volume of his Hiſtory; upon which Conſiderations I have ſaid little of things before our own Landing, and afterwards have for the moſt part confined my ſelf to matters relating to the Army, even in which, if we take things as they riſe, there have been ſeveral Actions on our ſide, that have made but an indifferent Figure to us, who poſſibly did not ſtand in a good light, and ſo could not diſcern the true Reaſons of things; only we ought to be ſatisfied, that Publick Authority is not to be ſubject to the private Paſſions and Opinions of the people; nor the Laws of Government either in Armies or elſewhere, to the Fancies of every pretender.

Some perhaps may ask what part of our Army had the greateſt Intereſt in the Glory of thoſe Victories which we have gained in that Kingdom, we

we being compoſed of ſo many different Nations, which muſt needs create Emulation, if not Envy it ſelf? It has been an Obſervation before my time, That all people generally have a good opinion of themſelves, and magnifie their own Countrey-men either as to Courage or Cuſtoms, though it be often without the leaſt ſhew of Reaſon: The *Turks* you ſee contemn us, and we them as much: The *Grecians* in former times called all the world but themſelves *Barbarians*, and now they are as much deſpiſed by moſt people: The *Italians* deride the *French*, and they again ſcoff at the *Italians*: The *Spaniards* laugh at all, and every Countrey again at them: We call the *Iriſh* Wild and Rude, and they think to be even with us in calling us *Engliſh* Churles, and other Names of Reproach; and notwithſtanding they were worſted, yet their Officers would confidently affirm, That their men had as much Courage as thoſe that beat them. The *Danes* too magnified their own Actions, and the *Dutch* and *French* did as much for themſelves; yet if you'l grant me but for this once to be impartial, I can affirm by often-repeated experience, That I never ſaw any thing contemn Death to that degree, (and that too in all ſhapes) as the *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers did upon all occaſions. And

if

if any endeavour to take the greateſt part of the Glory of that War from them, they do them not that Juſtice which the Merit of their Cauſe deſerves: Not that other people did not behave themſelves very well, but the Numbers of no other Nation were equal to ours; or if they had, can I by any means allow they could have outdone us.

I have done our Enemies all the Juſtice in every point, that the Merit of their Cauſe would bear, and that too from ſeveral of their own mouths, upon whoſe Credit I have related many Circumſtances. And as to our own ſide, I am very far from having the leaſt prejudice to the Perſon of any man; nor if I had, could I ever perſuade my ſelf to take ſo poor a Revenge, (if any) as to aſperſe him unjuſtly; this would be my own loſs, and not his: So that if any man happen to be injured by what I have ſaid, (though there's a great difference between being *wronged* and *offended*) I declare it no wilful Miſtake, and ſhall be very ready to ask his Pardon; which I will not do to any man, for ſaying what I know to be true.

But

But what I am moſt ſorry for is, That I queſtion not but a great many Gentlemen have deſerved very well in this War, tho it has been my Misfortune not to know their Names; and yet I hope that Time and a more diligent Enquiry will do them Juſtice.

What I have writ towards the end of the Book, concerning the paſt and preſent States of that Countrey, was done with the reſt in *April* laſt, when the noiſe of the *French* Deſcent filled every ones ears; and the ſame diſcourſe being now revived, I ſhall let it ſtand as it is, with this Remark, That though I am no Prophet, yet if they do make an Attempt, I hope they'l have the ſame Fate that others have had before them.

Whatever my Account of theſe matters may be, yet the Maps that I have inſerted, which illuſtrate the principal Battels and Sieges, are very good, and coſt no ſmall Pains and Charges to bring them to that perfection: But when I read over theſe Papers my ſelf, I find the Stile of the whole harſh and unpleaſant; which muſt needs be much more ſo to others, eſpecially in an Age wherein ſo many Learned and Great Men have

brought our Language to ſo great Perfection: But all the hopes I have is, That the moſt Learned Men are apteſt to put the moſt favourable Conſtruction upon a private man's Endeavour, and will be ready to pardon a great many Defects in one that means well: and as for all the Cenſorious men in the world, I ſhall not be much concerned at what they ſay.

ERRATA.

PAge 1. l. 6. for 1690. read 1689. p. 27. l. 10. for *Caltiers* r. *Cattiers*: p. 28. in the Marg. dele *A Liſt of Their Majeſties Army.* p. 42. l. 2. dele (*a*). p. 46. l. 10. for *have* r. *having.* p. 50. l. 29. for *Rapares* r. *Rapares.* p. 53. l. 4. dele *here.* p. 57. l. 15. for *drawn on* r. *drawn up.* p. 90. l. 10. for *Hand ſhot off* r. *Head ſhot off.* ibid. l. 32 for *terrible* r. *terribly.* p. 109 l. 30. for *in theſe* r. *theſe.* p. 116. l. 20. r. *neceſſaries.* p. 126. l. 29. for 1000 r. 10000. p. 151. l. 13. for *went* r. *going.* p. 162. in the Marg. for *Monks* r. *Mackay's.* p. 165. l. 16. for *litera* r. *litera.* p. 181. l. 19. for *bene* r. *breve.* p. 187 l. 17. for *Connor* r. *Connel.* p. 191. l. 25. for *amounted* r. *mounted.* p. 215. l. 16. the word *being* miſplaced. p. 249. l. 5. for *Commader* r. *Commander.* p. 254. l. 15. for *Account* r. *which Account.* p. 260. l. 32. for *each* r. *reach.* p. 292. l. 8. r. *Major-Generals.* ibid. l. 11. r. Boats p. 295. l. 29. dele *Sir.* p. 318. l. 31. before the word *Kingdom*, add *King or.* p. 324. l. 35. for *Converſation* r. *Converſing.*

There are ſome other ſmall Errors in Pages, Months, or Names, which the Reader may pleaſe to Correct as he finds them.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

	Page
A *Brief Account of the Cauſe of the War,*	2
The State of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom,	3
The late King lands there from France,	Ibid.
Proteſtants routed at Drummore,	Ibid.
An Iriſh *Parliament called,*	4
Derry *Beſieged and Relieved,*	4, 5
The Iriſh *beat at* Croom-*Caſtle,*	Ibid.
Duke Schonberg *lands in* Auguſt, 1689.	6
Carigfergus *ſurrendred; with the Articles of Surrender,*	7
Newry *burnt by the* Iriſh,	9
Our Army march to Dundalk,	Ibid.
And encamp there nigh Ten weeks,	10
Sligo *taken by the* Iriſh,	Ibid.
A Party of the Iriſh *repulſed at* Newry,	Ibid.
The Battel of Cavan,	14
The Danes *land in* Ireland,	Ibid.
5000 French *Foot land at* Kinſale,	15
Charlemont *ſurrendred,*	16

CHAP. II.

HIS *Majeſty lands in* Ireland,	18
Our Army marches towards the Boyne,	20
His Majeſty's narrow eſcape the day before the Battel,	Ibid.
The Battel at the Boyne,	22
The Number of the Dead,	23
The late King quits Ireland,	25
Our Army march to Dublin,	26
His Majeſty's Declaration to the Iriſh,	27
A Liſt of our General Officers,	28

The CONTENTS.

And of those belonging to the Irish, Page 30.
The Number of men in both Armies, 31
Lieutenant-General Douglass *sent with a Party to* Athlone, ibid.
A Commission granted by the King to secure Forfeited Goods, 32
Wexford, Waterford, *and* Dungannon *Fort surrendred to his Majesty*, 34, 35
Limerick *besieged*, 36
Some of our Guns surprized, 37
A Fort taken; then an Attack made upon the Town, 38
His Majesty raises the Siege, and returns to England, 39, 40

CHAP. III.

THE French *Forces quit* Ireland, 41
Bir *besieged by the* Irish, 42
Count Solm's *Answer to the Duke of* Berwick's *Letter*, 43
Lieutenant-General Ginckle *made Commander in Chief*, ibid.
Lords Justices begin their Government, 44
Earl of Marlborough *sent into* Ireland, ibid.
Cork *and* Kinsale *surrendred*, 45
The Irish *attempt our Frontiers*, 46
Part of our Army move towards the Shannon, 48
Rapparees in the Bog of Allen, 49
Those people serviceable to the Irish *Interest, and how*, 50
My Lord Tyrconnel *returns from* France, 51
Satsfield *made Earl of* Lucan, 55
The Irish *defeated at the Mote of* Greenoge, 57
Several Adventures with the Rapparees and Parties of the Irish *Army*, 58, 59, 60, &c.
Some of our Regiments take the Field at Mullingar, 68

CHAP. IV.

THirty *Rapparees killed*, 72
Major Wood *defeats a Party of the* Irish, 73
Several Skirmishes between the Irish *and Militia*, 74, 75,
Some of our Sea-men and Militia join, and march into the Enemies Quarters, 77
Monsieur St. Ruth *lands in* Ireland *to command their Army*, 78
Our great Officers take the Field at Mullingar, 80

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. V.

THE *Fortifications at* Mullingar *contracted*, Page 85
A Stratagem of the Iriſh *to get Horſes*, ibid.
The Iriſh *Army march towards* Athlone, 86
Our Army Beſieges Ballimore, 87
Its Scituation deſcribed, ibid.
The Fort ſurrendred, 91
Its Fortifications improved, ibid.
Our Army joined by the Duke of Wertenberg *nigh* Athlone, 94
That Town Attacked, with the manner of it, 95
The Engliſh *Town taken, Batteries againſt the* Iriſh *Town*, 98
A Deſign to paſs the Shannon *fruſtrated*, 100
The Enemy burn our Cloſe Gallery, 102
A Councel of War held, 105
The Town Stormed, 107
The Number of the Dead, 108
A part of our Army left in the Country, and why, 110
What happened in other Places of the Kingdom during this Month, ibid.

CHAP. VI.

THE Iriſh *Army Removes*, 114
The Dead buried at Athlone, ibid.
The Iriſh *reſolve to give us Battel*, 115
Iriſh *Priſoners ſent towards* Dublin, 117
The Lords Juſtices Declaration to the Iriſh, ibid.
The Enemy's Camp and Poſture at Aghrim *deſcribed*, 122
Monſieur St. Ruth's *ſuppoſed Speech to the* Iriſh, 123
The Battel of Aghrim, 127
The number of the dead on both ſides, and of the Iriſh *Priſoners*, 136
Inſtances in former Battels wherein the Iriſh *have been routed with little loſs to the* Engliſh, 142
An Account of ſome Iriſh *Prophecies*, 145
Loughrea *deſerted by the* Iriſh, 148
Portumna *Surrendred*, ibid.
Our Army marches towards Galway, 159
The Town Beſieged, 160
The Articles of Surrender, with their Majeſties confirmation of them, 165
Our Army returns towards Limerick, 174

An-

The CONTENTS.

An Account of what happened in other places of the Kingdom during this Month, 174, 175

CHAP. VII.

SEveral fresh Regiments ordered towards the Camp to recruit the Army, 179
Brigadier Leveſon *ſent with a Party towards* Nenagh,
A Treaty with Balderock O Donnell, 181
Our Army marches to Cariganliſs, 186
News of the death of my Lord Tyrconnell, 187
Iriſh *Lords Juſtices Act after his death,* 188
An Order about the Rates of Proviſions, 186
Another prohibiting the Buying of Cattel without the General's Licenſe, ibid.
Our Army approaches Limerick, 188
Ireton's *and* Cromwell's *Forts taken,* 189
A Party ſent to Caſtle Connell, 190
Our Ships come up the River near the Town, 191
Brigadier Leveſon *ſent into* Kerry, 193
A brief Account of what happened in other places of the Kingdom during the Month of Auguſt, 195

CHAP. VIII.

OUR Bombs ſet the Town on fire, 240
The Iriſh *deſign a Sally, but are repulſed,* ibid.
Brigadier Leveſon *routs a Party of the* Iriſh *in* Kerry, ibid.
A Deſign to paſs the River, 205
A new Battery contrived towards the King's Iſland, 206
A Breach made in the Wall, 210
Guns planted near St. Thomas's Iſland, 213
Collonel Earl *ſent into* England, 214
My Lord Lisburn *killed,* 215
A Party paſs the River upon a Bridge of Boats, 216
The Iriſh *in a great Conſternation,* 217
Debates whether the Siege ſhould be continued, or turned into a Blockade, 220
Orders in caſe of an Alarm, 222
Our Forces paſs the River a ſecond time, 223
The Attack at Thoumond *Bridge, where ſix hundred of the Enemy were killed,* 224

A Re-

The CONTENTS.

A Remarkable Paper found in the Pocket of a Collonel in the Iriſh *Army*, 225
The Enemy beat a Parley, 228
A Ceſſation agreed to. Hoſtages exchanged, 229, 230
The Iriſh *Propoſals rejected by the Generals*, ibid.
Articles agreed to, 231
The General's Letter to Sir Ralph Delaval, *giving him an Account of the Ceſſation*, 232
A brief Account of what happened in other parts of the Kingdom during this Month, 268, &c.

CHAP. IX.

THE Lords Juſtices come to the Camp, 238
The Articles ſigned, ibid.
The Articles at large both Civil and Military, with Their Majeſties Confirmation of them, 239, &c.
Our men take poſſeſſion of the Iriſh *Town*, 256
A Lieutenant-Collonel impriſoned for denying to go into France, 257
A Declaration from the General, 258
My Lord Lucan's *Arguments to the* Iriſh *to perſuade them to go into* France, 260
Their Foot drawn out, and put to the trial, ibid.
The Lords Juſtices return towards Dublin, ibid.
Our Army decamps, and goes to Quarters, 263
Some of the Iriſh *go towards* Cork, 264

CHAP. X.

THE Campaign ended, and Iriſh *Priſoners of War releaſed*, 268
Some Rapparees deliver up their Arms, 269
A Proclamation of pardon to the reſt, ibid.
The Ulſter Iriſh *return home with their Cattel*, 270
The French *Fleet comes into the* Shannon, 271
Some Objections againſt the Articles of Limerick *anſwered*, 275
The laſt of the Iriſh *march from* Limerick, 281
The General goes to Dublin, *and thence for* England, 288
Major-General Mackay *and Major-General* Talmaſh *go for* England, 284
The Danes *ordered to be ſhipt off*, ibid.
Fortifications of Ballymore *and* Mullingar *demoliſhed*, 285

Our

Our Transport Ships that carry the Irish, *return from* France, 288
The Late King's Letter to the Irish *at their Landing,* 289
Their Reception in France, ibid.
My Lord Lucan's *Release to the General,* 292
The Irish *that stay'd with us, very unruly in their Quarters. Orders and Instructions for breaking them all, except two Battalions,* 294, 295
The Oaths taken according to the New Act of Parliament. 296
An Order to turn out all Papists from our Regiments, 297
A Proclamation declaring the War of Ireland *ended,* 302

CHAP. XI.

A Brief Account of the former and present Circumstances of Ireland, 304
Its Division into Provinces and Counties, Bishopricks and Parishes, Cities and Corporations. Its Soil, &c. 305, 306
Sir John Davis's *Reasons why* Ireland *has been so long in being intirely subjected to the Crown of* England, 307
What Tanistry is, 309
This a Reason why the Irish *did not improve their Country,* 310
Of Fosterings and Cosherings, ibid.
Ireland *ought to be put into a Condition to bear its own Burden* 314
What Methods the Irish *first took to make the old* English *joyn with them,* 315
A brief Account of the Expences of the former War, ibid.
An Essay towards the Charge of this, 316
A modest conjecture at the Numbers lost on both sides, and in the Country during the War, 317
The Interest of England *to advance the power of the* English *in* Ireland, 318
Our Ancestors sensible of this, 320
The former Evils still remain, ibid.
The Interest of the Irish-Papists *themselves to advance the Power of* England, 321
Two Objections answered, 322
Religion in the first place to be taken care of, 323
An Invasion from France *at this Juncture upon any of these three Kingdoms not practicable,* 326
A Remark upon the last that endeavoured it. 328

A Continuation of the Impartial History OF THE WARS of IRELAND.

CAMBRIDGE

CHAP. I.

A brief Account, by way of Introduction, of the Cauſe of the War. The ſtate of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom. The Late King's landing there. The Seſſions of Parliament in Ireland. *Proteſtants Routed at* Drummore, *and other Places.* Derry *Beſieged; and Relieved. The* Iriſh *beat at* Croom *Caſtle. Duke* Sconberg *lands in* Auguſt 1690. Carigſergus *Surrendred.* Newry *Burnt. The Army march'd to* Dundalk. *And Encamp there nigh ten Weeks.* Sligo *taken by the* Iriſh. *A Party of theirs Repulſed at* Newry. *The Battel of* Cavan. *The* Danes *land in* Ireland. 5000 French *Foot land at* Kinſale. Charlemont *Surrendred.*

THE Actions of Great Men have generally been eſteemed ſo powerful for the inſtructing of thoſe that come after, that moſt Civil States have made it their Buſineſs to Tranſcribe, and preſerve them to poſterity for their Example and Imitation. Even the *Iriſh* themſelves, when they were far from being one of the 1689.

1689. moſt Reformed Nations in the World, had their Bards, and Ballad-makers, who have taken no ſmall pains in their way to render the Chieftains of their own Country as famous as others. Nay, the Greateſt Generals and Emperors have in the midſt of their Conqueſts imployed ſome of their time to leave the immortal Memory of their own, and other Great Mens Actions in writing; the omiſſion of which has been a great defect in the middle Age of the World, ſince thoſe are commonly the moſt Competent Judges of the management of Affairs, and ableſt to give a true Account.

But becauſe in this Fighting Age, wherein we now live, their time is other ways imployed; and Great Men have ſcarce leiſure to read, much leſs to write great Books; we muſt be contented to take the beſt Accounts we can get of their Actions from meaner Hands, ſuch as have been Eye-witneſſes of them, or at leaſt have good grounds for what they tell us. And foraſmuch as the Diſturbances in *Ireland* have made ſo great a noiſe in the Ears of all *Europe*, whilſt they laſted; and my ſelf as a conſtant Attendant on their Majeſties Army, having been an Eye-witneſs to the moſt Remarkable Occurrences; I ſhall not ſcruple to tell the World all I know; which as it is for the moſt part little elſe but the bare matter of Fact, I hope it may not be deſpiſed, though it come from ſo mean a Hand, and in ſo homely a Dreſs.

I need not trouble the Reader with a long Diſcourſe about the Occaſion of the War; The general Averſion of the People of *England* to Popery, and their being ill treated by a Prince of that Perſuaſion, made ſuch a ſudden Change in that Kingdom, as the like never happened before in any Age or Countrey: But *Ireland* was under different Circumſtances; the

Roman-

Roman-Catholick Party being there by much the ſtronger (at leaſt more numerous) of whom my Lord *Tyrconnel* had, during the late King's Reign, been modelling an Army that might be ready on all Occaſions to maintain the Popiſh Intereſt, by which the Proteſtants in that Kingdom were brought upon the very brink of Ruine, and then forced moſt of them to fly from thence to ſecure their Lives againſt an Inſolent and ungovernable *Iriſh* Army; who by order from the Government, ſeized upon all the Horſes and Arms they could find in the Hands of the Proteſtants throughout the Kingdom, and made all poſſible Preparations to reſiſt a powerful Army from *England*, which was but reaſonable to look for, ſince it's ſo inconſiſtent with the Laws, Intereſt and Policy of this Kingdom, to have *Ireland* in any other hands but their own. 1689.

The Late King lands in *Ireland*.

On the 12*th* of *March* the Late King, with about 1800 men from *France*, landed at *Kinſale* in the Weſt of *Ireland*. And on the 14*th* ſeveral of the Northern Proteſtants that had betaken themſelves to Arms, were routed at a place called *Drummore*, by Lieut.Gen. *Hamilton* (who was ſome time before ſent into *Ireland* to treat with my Lord *Tyrconnel* to deliver up the Sword; but joining with his Lordſhip, and the *Iriſh* at his Landing, he was preferred to that Poſt.) He had with him at *Drummore* about 2000 of the *Iriſh* ſtanding Army, and nigh as many Rapareers, though he killed but few of the Proteſtants, they making a Running Fight of it, as others alſo did at *Killileigh*, *Clandyfoord*, and ſome other Places; ſeveral flying into *England*, or *Scotland*, though the moſt reſolute amongſt them went towards *London-Derry*, where in a ſhort time they were actually beſieged by the greateſt part of the *Iriſh* Army.

1689. And then the *Irish* make Preparations for the sitting of their Parliament, which was on the *7th* of *May* 1689. wherein all the mere *Irish* were admitted as Members; and most of the *English* Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and substantial Tradesmen of that Kingdom, were attainted by name; their Estates and Goods being declared forfeited, if they returned not by a certain day, which to the greatest part was next to an impossibility.

An *Irish* Parliament called.

There were some Protestants however in this Parliament who endeavoured to do their Absent Brethren, and the Protestant Interest, all the faithful service imaginable; particularly the Bishop of *Meath*, who made several excellent Speeches in the House of Lords in opposition to their Proceedings; but the Current was then too strong to be stopt, and whoever endeavoured it, their Attempts were fruitless.

The Siege of *London-derry*.

But the greatest Thorn in their sides at that time in *Ireland*, was the City of *London-derry*, which contemned both their Threats and fair Promises, baffling the chief of their Forces for at least Four Months together, without any extraordinary Supplies from *England*, till they were reduced to the last Extremity: Yet on the *25th.* of *March* the Besieged had some Arms and Ammunition brought them by Captain *James Hambleton*. And on the *13th.* of *April*, Collonel *Richards* and Collonel *Cunningham* were sent with Two Regiments from *England* to their Assistance; who coming to the Lough of *Derry*, and being ordered to obey the then Governour *Lundy*'s directions, they were told by him, That the Town could not hold out a Week; and that their coming in would only be the loss of their men, and the Besieged also; and advised them to return, which they did, tho they lost their Regiments upon it.

Then

Page. 5.

A GROUND PLAT of LONDON-DERRY &c.

A GROUND PLAT of LONDON-DERRY &c.

A	The Cathedral Church	M	ye Great Spurr made by ye Protestants	X	School house Lane
B	ye Towne house	N	Bishops gate street	Y	Church Lane
C	ye Gard house	O	ye City Wall	Z	Bastions wherein ye Cannons are planted
D	ye City Square	P	Pump St Ewells well		
E	ye Magazen	Q	Ferry gate Street		
F	New gate	R	Butchers Street		
G	Bishops gate	S	Ship key Street		
H	Butchers gate	T	Magazen lane		
I	Shipkey gate	V	Bridewell lane		
K	ye Ship Key	W	Rosemary Lane		
L	ye City Wall				

Windmill hill

LONDON-DERRY

to the Strand

a new Fort

ye Ferry

Here were curious Gardens

Smith field

The great Orchard that the Protestants lay in Ambush when they kill'd ye French Generall 70 Officers and 400 Horsmen.

The high Way to Loughsooly

Penny-brook Mills where the Prophecy is the Irish shall be destroyd utterly in a great fight.

LOVGH

a Windmill

LOYLE

the Creek of Inver

Here were Villages and Groves but destroyd.

Castle

a Wood

and Old Church

Grange Fort

the Bogg

Charles Fort

Brookhall ye Irish head Quarters.

New Fort

an Orchard

A Grove

Otter Isle

New town bridge

Tenghan Water

A Mile Scale

Cloughole now ruind

a fresh water Lake

Fish house

New Fort

Upper Kensum

Culmore Church

Tenghan Road

This is drawn for Low water at full Springs 12 at dead Neaps 6.
Capt. Sam: Hobson delineavit Scotfe.

CULMORE FORT

A Bog

Sold by Rich: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Pauls Church yard.

Then

Then went Major-General *Kirk*, with his own Regiment, Sir *John Hanmer*'s, and Brigadier *Stuart*'s, who anchor'd in the Lough Two Months; during which time a great many *French* Commanders were sent to the *Iriſh* Camp, and alſo the late King himſelf went down to encourage the Beſiegers, freſh Supplies of men going thither daily, but all to no purpoſe; which when he ſaw how unſucceſsful the Attempts of his *Iriſh* Army againſt the Town were like to prove, it's confidently reported, that he expreſt himſelf to this effect, *That if he had had as many* Engliſh-men *in his Army, as he had of others, they would have brought him it ſtone by ſtone ere that.* But being weary of ſo tedious a Siege, he returned to *Dublin*; and at laſt, the *Dartmouth* Frigat forced her way up to the Town; and the *Iriſh* raiſed their Siege on the laſt of *July*. The Management of this Affair was blamed by ſome of themſelves, who were either for puſhing on the Siege with their whole Army, or elſe for making a Blockade, and ſo going into *Scotland* with the reſt of the Army, as my Lord *Melfort* adviſed, and as my Lord *Dunee* earneſtly writ for ſeveral times; but ſome of the *Iriſh* Officers adviſed the late King to a Medium, by making a ſlow and regular Siege, which would teach his men to be the better Soldiers; but thereby he loſt his opportunity, in not ſending to reinforce *Dundee*, whereby he might at leaſt have changed the ſeat of the War.

1689. Major-General *Kirk* ſent to their relief.

Nor were the *Inniskilliners* behind their Neighbours of *Derry* in oppoſing the *Iriſh* on all occaſions; for beſides ſeveral Actions of moment performed by them at other times, the very day before the Siege of *Derry* was raiſed, the *Inniskilliners* hearing of about Six thouſand of the *Iriſh* Army, commanded by Major-General *Mackarty*, (commonly called my Lord *Moncaſhel*) that were marching towards them, in order to Beſiege their Town alſo, they very bravely met them nigh Twenty Miles from home,

1689. home, and at a place called *Newtown Butler*, near *Croom-Caſtle*, they fought and routed the *Iriſh*, killing and drowning in Loughs and Bogs nigh Three thouſand, *Mackarty* himſelf and ſome few more being taken Priſoners: The whole Body of the *Inniskilliners*, both Horſe and Foot, were not above Two thouſand; and ſcarce Twenty of thoſe were killed, with about Fifty more wounded. This I have had confirmed by ſeveral very good men of that Party; and it's in a great meaſure owned by the *Iriſh* themſelves.

The Battel at *Newtown Butler*.

After theſe *Affronts*, the *Iriſh* Army retire into *Leinſter* and *Munſter*, in order to recruit and refreſh themſelves; when they had ſoon an account (to their ſorrow), That Duke *Schonbergh*, General of all Their Majeſties of *Great Britain*'s Forces, was landed with an Army at *Bangor* in the *North* of *Ireland*: This was on *Tueſday*, *Auguſt* the 13*th*. and on the 17*th*. the General with his Army marched to *Belfaſt*; from whence on the 20*th*. he ſent Five Regiments of Foot, with ſome Horſe, to Inveſt the Town of *Carrickfergus*; and the next day, followed himſelf with the remainder of the Army. There were Two Regiments of Foot in the Town, under *Mackarty Moore* the Governor, and *Owen Mackarty*, who held it out till the 27*th*. at what time the following Articles were agreed to and ſigned.

Duke *Schomberg* lands with an Army in *Ireland*.

Articles

Articles of Agreement between *Frederick* Duke of *Schonbergh*, General of Their Majeſties Forces; and Col. *Charles Mackarty Moore*, Governor of *Carrickfergus*, Auguſt 27. 1689.

Art. I. *THAT the Gariſon ſhall march out with flying Colours, Arms, lighted Matches, and their own Baggage to morrow by Ten a Clock.* Articles of Carrickfergus.

II. *That in regard the Gariſon are in ſuch Diſorders, none be admitted into the Town, but ſuch a Guard as we think fit to ſend to one of the Gates, which ſhall immediately be delivered to us, according to the Cuſtom of War.*

III. *That the Gariſon ſhall march out to morrow by Ten a Clock, and be conducted by a Squadron of Horſe to the neareſt Gariſon of the Enemy; and there ſhall be no crowding nor confuſion when they march out.*

IV. *That nothing be carried out of the Town, which belongs to the Proteſtants or other Inhabitants.*

V. *That the Governour obliges himſelf to deliver all Cannon, and other ſort of Arms, Munition, Victuals of any kind, into the hands of ſuch a Commiſſary as ſhall be ordered by us to receive them to morrow morning.*

VI. *That if there be any thing due from the Gariſon, to the Inhabitants of the Proteſtant Religion, it ſhall be paid; and what has been taken from them, ſhall be reſtored.*

VII. *That a ſafe Conduct for all the Inhabitants of the Countrey, and ſuch of the* Roman-Catholick *Clergy that came for ſhelter to this Gariſon, ſhall be allowed, and that they go*

to

1689. *to their reſpective habitations, together with their Goods, and there be protected, purſuant to King* William's *Declaration, bearing date the* 22*d. of* February *laſt paſt.*

VIII. *That care ſhall be taken of the ſick and wounded men of the Gariſon that cannot go along with the Regiments; and that when they are in a condition to follow the reſt, they ſhall have our Paſs.*

SCHONBERG.

Purſuant to which Articles, the *Iriſh* marched out, tho the Duke himſelf had much a-do to protect them from the Violence of the Countrey People; the Injuries they had received in being plundered and ſtript by them, were ſo freſh in their memories. The *Iriſh* had about 150 killed and wounded during the Siege, and the Duke near the ſame number; and *Wedneſday* the 28*th.* and the day following, the Army marched back to *Belfaſt*, where they were joined by Duke *Schonbergh*'s *French* Horſe, Sir *Thomas Gowers* Foot, and ſome other Regiments ſent from *England*. On *Saturday* the laſt of *Auguſt*, our Army was Muſtered, being Four Regiments of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and Eighteen Regiments of Foot, (*viz.*) Horſe, Earl of *Devonſhire*'s, Lord *Delamere*'s, Col. *Coy*'s, and Duke *Schonberg*'s, with Col. *Leveſon*'s Dragoons. Foot, one Battalion of Blew *Dutch*, *Carleſon*'s White *Dutch*, Princeſs *Anne*'s, Col. *Wharton*'s, *Earl of Drogheda*'s, Lord *Lisburn*'s, Earl *Meath*'s, Lord *Roſcommon*'s, Lord *Lovelace*'s, Earl of *Kingſton*'s, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, Col. *Herbert*'s, Sir *Edward Deering*'s, Sir *Thomas Gower*'s, Col. *Earl*'s, *La Mellionere*'s, *Du Cambon*'s, *La Callimot*'s; and a day or two after, we were joined by moſt of the *Inniskilling* Horſe, who ſtayed with us during the ſucceeding Campaign.

Our Army muſtered at *Belfaſt*.

The

Port Mush
Mountains
Road
Belfast

1689. *to their reſpective habitations, together with their Goods, and there be protected, purſuant to King* William's *Declaration, bearing date the 22d. of* February *laſt paſt.*

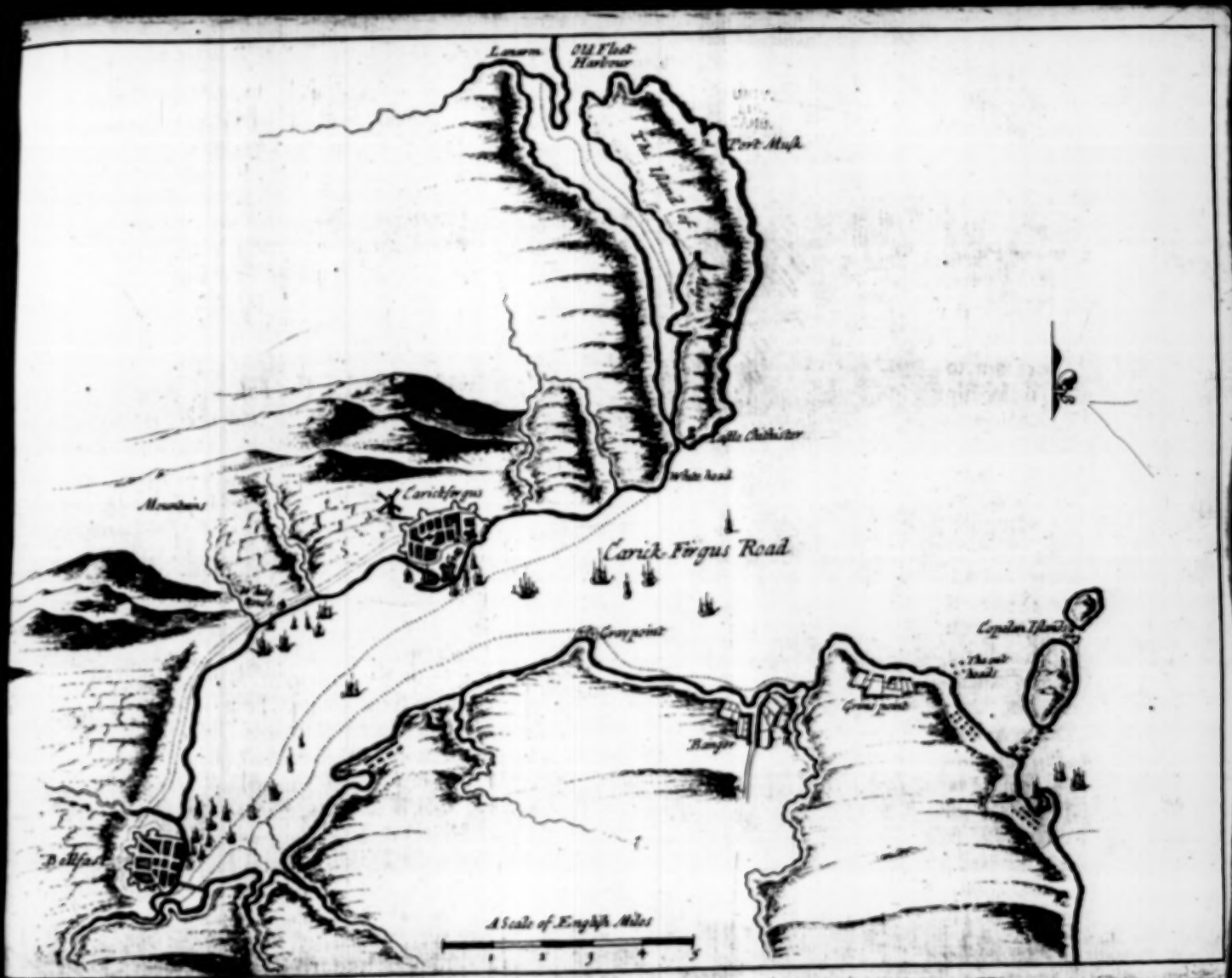
VIII. *That care ſhall be taken of the ſick and wounded men of the Gariſon that cannot go along with the Regiments; and that when they are in a condition to follow the reſt, they ſhall have our Paſs.*

SCHONBERG.

Purſuant to which Articles, the *Iriſh* marched out, tho the Duke himſelf had much a-do to protect them from the Violence of the Countrey People; the Injuries they had received in being plundered and ſtript by them, were ſo freſh in their memories. The *Iriſh* had about 150 killed and wounded during the Siege, and the Duke near the ſame number; and *Wedneſday* the 28*th.* and the day following, the Army marched back to *Belfaſt*, where they were joined by Duke *Schonbergh*'s *French* Horſe, Sir *Thomas Gowers* Foot, and ſome other Regiments ſent from *England.* On *Saturday* the laſt of *Auguſt*, our Army was Muſtered, being Four Regiments of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and Eighteen Regiments of Foot, (*viz.*) Horſe, Earl of *Devonſhire*'s, Lord *Delamere*'s, Col. *Coy*'s, and Duke *Schonberg*'s, with Col. *Leveſon*'s Dragoons. Foot, one Battalion of Blew *Dutch*, *Carleſon*'s White *Dutch*, Princeſs *Anne*'s, Col. *Wharton*'s, *Earl of Drogheda*'s, Lord *Lisburn*'s, Earl *Meath*'s, Lord *Roſcommon*'s, Lord *Lovelace*'s, Earl of *Kingſton*'s, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, Col. *Herbert*'s, Sir *Edward Deering*'s, Sir *Thomas Gower*'s, Col. *Earl*'s, *La Mellionere*'s, *Du Cambon*'s, *La Callimot*'s; and a day or two after, we were joined by moſt of the *Inniskilling* Horſe, who ſtayed with us during the ſucceeding Campaign.

Our Army muſtered at *Belfaſt.*

The


Lanarm
Old Fleet Harbour
Port Musk
The Island of
Castle Chithister
White head
Carickfergus
Mountains
Carick Firgus Road
Craypoint
Copelan Islands
The out heads
Grins point
Bangor
Bellfast
A Scale of English Miles
1 2 3 4 5

The Duke having ordered moſt of his Artillery and Ammunition on Board at *Carrickfergus* (our Train-Horſes being many of them as yet at *Cheſter*) and then to go for *Carlingford*, within eight miles of *Dundalk*, he marched his Army forwards on *Monday* the 2*d*. of *September*, and came on the 6*th*. to *Newry*, which he found laid in Aſhes by the Duke of *Berwick*, who having been there with about 1700 Foot and Dragoons, and two Troops of Horſe, had retired towards *Dundalk* the evening before, and left *Newry* in a flame. Here the General poſted Capt. *Palliſer* of Sir *Thomas Gower*'s Regiment with Fifty men in an old Caſtle that was unburnt; and on *Saturday* the 7*th*. we marched to *Dundalk*, where the Army encamped on a low moiſt Ground, nigh a mile ſhort of the Town. On *Sunday* the 8*th*. Major-General *Kirk*'s, Sir *John Hanmer*'s, and Brigadier *Stuart*'s Regiments, join'd us from the *North*. 1689. The Army march to *Newry*. Thence to *Dundalk*.

The *Iriſh* Army were at this time in a great Conſternation, and it was debated whether they ſhould quit *Drogheda* and *Dublin*, and ſo retire towards the *Shannon*; but my Lord *Tyrconnel* oppoſed it; and when Marſhal *De Roſe* underſtood that Duke *Schonberg* halted at *Dundalk*, *He was ſure* (he ſaid) *that he wanted ſomething neceſſary for their going forwards*; and therefore part of their Army advanced, firſt to *Ardee*, and then in a day or two to a place called the Bridge of *Fane*, upon a ſmall River within three miles of *Dundalk*, whither the late King with his whole Army (being about 28000 well arm'd, and nigh Ten thouſand indifferently arm'd men), followed about the 15*th*. at what time we began to intrench our Camp; and alſo ſome ſhipping with Proviſions came to us. The *Iriſh* in confuſion.

Friday the 20*th*. we were alarm'd with the Enemies approach, and they did appear upon the Hills above the Town, next day drawing out their whole Army with a The *Iriſh* make a ſhew of fighting.

1689. Train of Artilery, which the Duke seeing, ordered all his men to stand to their Arms, and expected the Enemies attacking him, but that they had no great mind to; and after a Discovery of a Plot by some *French*, to carry the rest over to King *James*, one *Du Plessy* and five more being hanged, as also Two hundred others sent for *England*, the Enemy seeing that opportunity lost, they returned with the main Body of their Army to *Ardee*, where they encamped till about the 4*th*. of *November*, and then they marching off, we thought it high time to do so likewise, after being encamp'd almost Ten weeks in a very unwholsome place, and pestered with all the disadvantages of bad weather, by reason of which we lost in the Camp, in our going to Quarters, and in them and the Hospitals, at least one half of our men, the Army consisting then of Nine Regiments and Two Troops of Horse, Four Regiments of Dragoons, and Thirty Regiments of Foot, whereof Two Regiments of Horse, One of Dragoons, and Six of Foot, did not come to the Camp, but were quartered in the Countrey.

Sligo taken by the *Irish*.

About this time a Body of the *Irish* under *Sarsfield* retook *Sligo* and *James-town*, the Duke not being in a condition to send a sufficient number of men to their Relief. Upon the 8*th*. and 10*th*. of *November* our Army decamped, and were dispersed afterwards over the *North* in Quarters; and not long after, (*viz*.) *November* 24. early in the morning, Major-General *Boiseleau* with about Seventeen hundred men, endeavoured to surprize *Newry*, and a good part of them were actually in the Town, but were beat out again by about Sixty of Sir *Henry Inglesby*'s Regiment (all that were then well of 'em), with some few Townsmen that had rebuilt their Houses; the *Irish* making

A Party of the *Irish* repulsed at *Newry*.

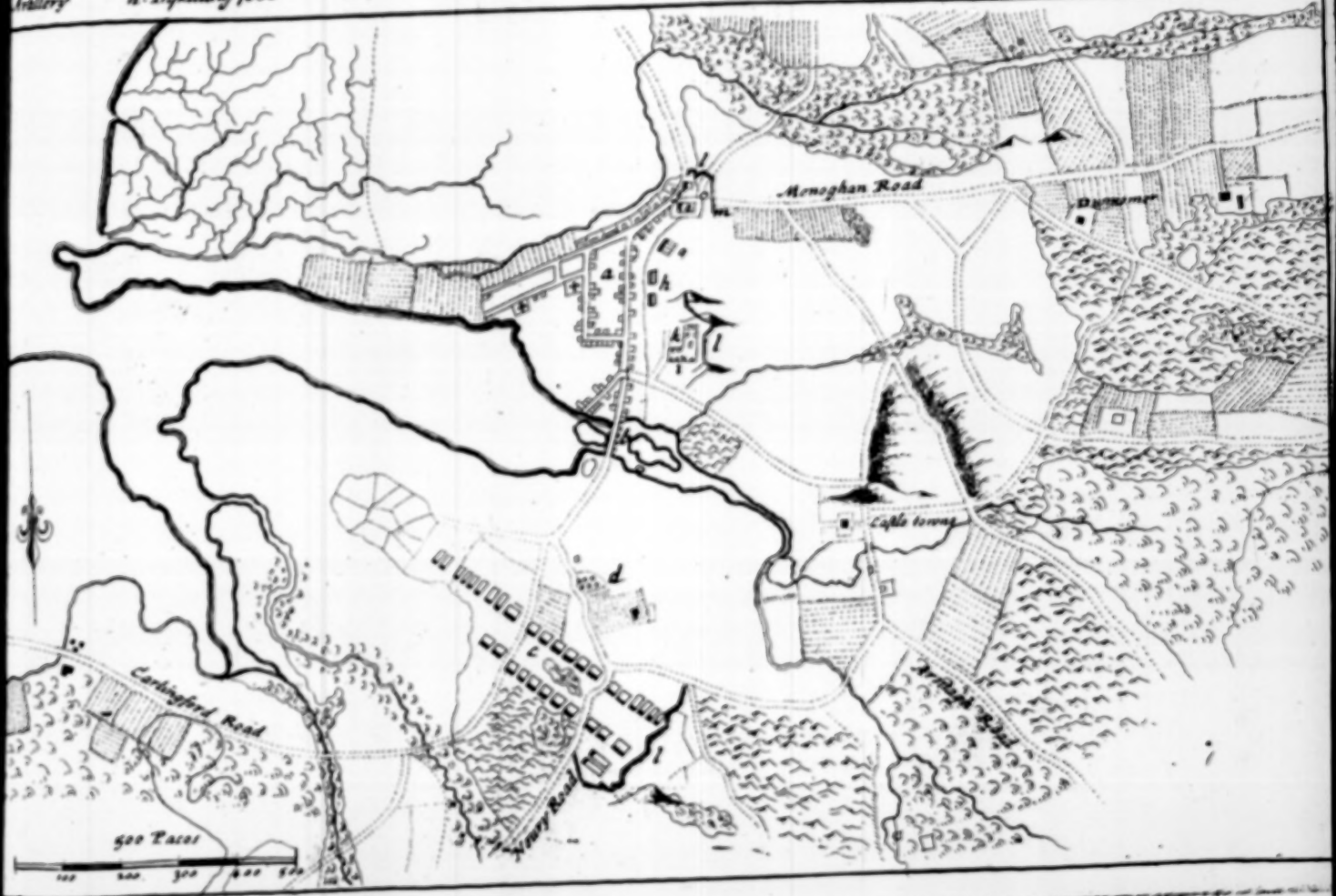
so

Dundalk
Bridge
mat Camp
Artillery

a. Battalions of Guards
f. Carlsons Regim.t
g. English Dragoons
h. Infantry foot

The English Camp near Dundalk

i. Infantry Horf
k. Infantry Dragoons
l. Retrenchments
m. Batterys



ſo great haſte away, that not many of their number were ſlain, ſix Soldiers and a Lieutenant-Collonel being only left upon the ſpot; we had alſo two Captains and ſix men killed, and ſome few wounded: And ſo ended that great Contrivance, in endeavouring to ſurprize firſt that, and afterwards all our Frontier Gariſons; which as the caſe then ſtood with us, had been no difficult task to perform. 1689.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the General ordered a Meeting of all the Countrey Gentlemen then in the *North* of *Ireland*, to be at *Lisburne*, where his Grace's Head Quarters were fixed, at what time they preſented the Duke with an Addreſs, and then agreed upon Rates for all ſorts of Proviſion; which by Proclamation from the General were commanded to be ſold accordingly.

December the 12*th*. Collonel *Woolſly* marched with a Party towards *Belturbet*, which was ſurrendred to him by the *Iriſh*; and on the 13*th*. the Duke went to view *Charlemont*, a ſtrong-hold which the *Iriſh* then had, and kept for ſome time afterwards.

Towards the latter end of *December*, the *Iriſh* began to leſſen the Coin of their Braſs Money, calling in the large Half-Crowns, and ſtamping them a new for Crowns; and near the ſame time Major-General *Mackarty* made his eſcape from *Inniskilling*, where he had remained a Priſoner ever ſince the Rout at *Croom-Caſtle*. Collonel *Hambleton*, Governour of the Town, was Tried by a Court-Marſhal for it afterwards, but producing Major-General *Kirk*'s Letter to him, wherein he deſired that ſome further Conveniencies might be allowed *Mackarty* than formerly; upon which it being done (with the Duke's conſent, who took *Mackarty* for a man of Honour) the Governor was acquitted.

Major-General *Mackarty* makes his eſcape.

1690. The beginning of *January*, our Regiments being all very thin, and it appearing a little difficult to recruit them in *England*, moſt people being then out of humour for the loſs of their Relations and Acquaintance, nor altogether that number of Voluntiers appearing then as formerly, therefore ſeveral Regiments were broke one into another, and the ſupernumerary Officers continued at half-pay till Proviſion could be made for them in other Regiments; Sir *Tho. Gower* being dead, my Lord *Drogheda*'s Regiment was broke into his, and his Lordſhip made Collonel of it; my Lord *Roſcommon*'s Regiment was broke alſo into Collonel *Earl*'s; and Collonel *Zanchy*'s (formerly my Lord *Lovelace*'s) Sir *Henry Inglesby*'s, and Collonel *Hambleton*'s of *Inniskilling*, were broke into other Regiments; and about the 12*th*. 16*th*. and 20*th*. moſt of the Officers deſigned for that Service, went from *Lisburne* towards *England*, for Recruits to the Army.

January the 18*th*. A Proclamation was publiſhed, ſtrictly forbidding Curſing, Swearing, and Prophaneneſs in Officers or Soldiers, under the Penalties enjoined in the Articles of War, and his Grace's utmoſt Diſpleaſure; but neither this, nor yet the Judgments of God then hanging upon us for thoſe and a great many other ſins, had that effect that the General and other good men heartily wiſhed for; and no doubt of it, the Debaucheries in Armies are the high-way to Ruin, ſince thoſe both obey and fight beſt, that are the moſt ſober.

The 22*d*. Brigadier *Stuart* went with a Party of Five hundred Horſe and Foot towards *Dundalk*, deſtroying ſeveral Cabins amongſt the Mountains, where the *Iriſh* uſed to ſhelter themſelves; and his Party brought in a conſiderable Prey at their return.

The

1690.

The 25*th.* the General went from *Lisburne*, in order to viſit our Frontier Gariſons, and appointed ſtores of Bread, Cheeſe, Shooes, and other Neceſſaries at ſeveral places, eſpecially at *Armagh*, the Metropolis of the whole Iſland.

The *Iriſh* Army in motion.

On the 11*th* of *February*, a part of our Army being drawn together to attend the Enemy's Motion, who we underſtood were then in a Body towards *Dundalk*; The General himſelf went to *Drummore*, and ſo to *Loughbritland*, in order to give the Enemy Battel, if they advanced; our Men and Horſes having recovered by this time from their late Diſeaſes to a Miracle. Sir *John Laneir*, and Brigadier *La Mellionere*, advanced with a Party towards *Carlingford*, but returned with an Account, that there were only three Regiments at *Dundalk*, as formerly; but the Deſign of the *Iriſh* lay another way. For whilſt the Duke was abroad on that ſide, Collonel *Woolſley* had notice that the Enemy were reſolved to fall upon *Belturbet*, where he then commanded; to which purpoſe they had already crouded a Gariſon of theirs called *Cavan*, eight miles from *Belturbet*, at what place they expected a greater Force in a day or two; but Collonel *Woolſley*, to be before-hand with their viſit, marched from *Belturbet* on the 12*th*, about Four in the Afternoon, with Seven hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horſe and Dragoons, hoping to ſurprize the Enemy next Morning early; but he met with ſo many Difficulties in his march, that inſtead of being at the Place before day, as he deſigned, it was fair day-light before he came near it; the Enemy had alſo taken the Alarm, and were ſo far from being ſurprized, that inſtead of the uſual Gariſon (which we only as yet expected there) the firſt thing that our men ſaw, was a Body of the Enemy's drawn

1690. drawn up in good order, and judged to be about Four thouſand. It was rather therefore a ſurprize upon us, than them; however, we fought and routed them, killed Brigadier *Nugent*, with ſeveral other Officers, and about Three hundred Soldiers, taking Twelve Officers, and Sixty private Men, Priſoners; burnt the Town, and returned with a good Booty; having loſt Major *Trahern*, Captain *Armſtrong*, and Captain *Mayo*, with about Thirty private Men, and double the number wounded.

The Battel of *Cavan.*

Sir *John Lanier* goes to *Dundalk* with a Party.

And to let the Enemy ſee that we were ready for them on all ſides, Sir *John Lanier* marched again on the 15*th* towards *Dundalk* with a Party of One thouſand Horſe, Foot and Dragoons; he came before the Place early next Morning, which the Enemy had fortified very regularly. And placing ſome of his men near the Works on the North-eaſt Side towards the Bridge, he ſent a Party of Collonel *Leveſon*'s Dragoons croſs the River, who took *Bedloe*'s Caſtle, an Enſign and Thirty men ſurrendring themſelves Priſoners; In the mean time another Party marched in at the South-weſt End of the Town, and burnt moſt of what was left without the Works; in which Service we loſt a Lieutenant, and two or three Dragoons; our Men returning with a Prey of Fifteen hundred Cows and Horſes.

The *Danes* land in *Ireland.*

The beginning of *March*, landed the Duke of *Wertenberg* with Six Thouſand *Danes*, being proper men, very well Cloathed and Armed. On the 12*th*, Collonel *Callimot*, with a Party, endeavoured to burn the Wooden Bridge at *Charlemont*, which he ſet fire to, and killed about Twenty of the Enemy; loſt his own Major, with about Six men, and ſo returned.

5000 *French* land in *Ireland.*

March the 14*th*, Five thouſand *French* Foot under Count *Lauzune*, and the Marqueſs *de Lery*, landed at *Kin-*

Kinſale, in order to join the Late King's Army; for whom, in exchange, Major-General *Macharty*, and near the ſame number of *Iriſh*, were ſent into *France*, our *Engliſh* Fleet, then attending the Queen of *Spain*, made this Undertaking more eaſie to the *French*. 1690.

April the 6*th*, Collonel *Woolſley*, with a Party of Seven hundred men, attacked the Caſtle of *Killyſhandra*, ſeven miles from *Belturbet*, where the Enemy had a Gariſon of One hundred and ſixty men, commanded by one Captain *Darcy*; after ſome Mines were fixed, and a briſk Aſſault or two made upon their Works (in which we loſt Eight men) the Beſieged ſurrendred, and we left a Gariſon of One hundred men in the Place. Nigh which time a great many Recruits, as alſo Collonel *Catt's*, Collonel *Babington's*, with a *Daniſh* Regiment of Horſe, landed at *White-Houſe*.

April the 18*th*, Sir *Clouſley Shovell* went into the Bay of *Dublin*, and brought from a Place called the *Salmon Pool*, a Frigat of Sixteen Guns, and Four Pattereroes, loaden with Hides, Tallow, ſome Plate, and other Rich Moveables, deſigned for *France*; the Late King, and ſeveral of his *Iriſh* Regiments, marching as far as *Rings-End*, where they were all Witneſſes of ſo wicked an Action (as they called it) done on ſo good a Day, it being *Good-Friday*. Sir *Clouſley Shovell* takes a Frigat out of the Bay of *Dublin*.

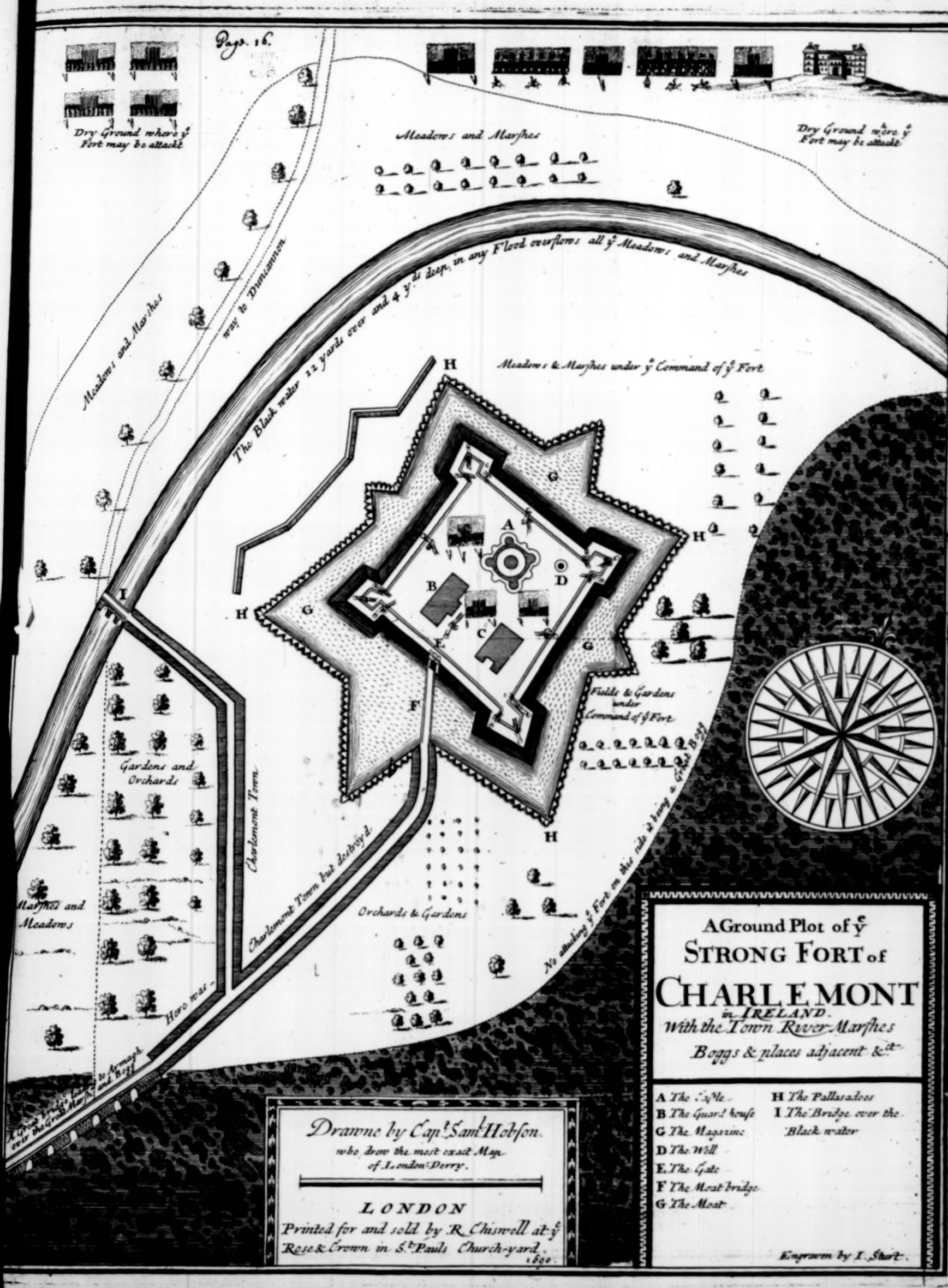
May the 2*d*, Lieutenant-Collonel *Mackmehon*, with about Four hundred men, Ammunition, and ſome ſmall quantities of Proviſions, got into *Charlemont* in the Night, but our *French* and other Regiments poſted thereabouts, watched him ſo narrowly, that though he made two or three Attempts, yet he could not get out again. And the ſecond Week in *May*, ſeveral *Engliſh*, a *Brandenburg*, and Three *Dutch* Regiments landed. By which time alſo all our Recruits were Relief put into *Charlemont*.

1690. were compleated, and the Regiments Cloathed; ſo that we had now an Excellent Army, all over-joyed with the Aſſurance that His Majeſty in perſon deſigned to make that Campaign in *Ireland*. A part of our Army alſo begin to take the Field, and Encamp almoſt round *Charlemont*; Cannon and Mortars were ſent up that way too, in order to force old *Teague O Regan*, the Governour, from his Neſt, if he would not quit it otherways; but their Proviſions being ſpent, and no hopes of Relief appearing, on the 12*th* of *May* the Governour deſired a Parley, and after ſome time it was agreed, That his Gariſon ſhould march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they did on the 14*th*, being about Eight hundred (beſides two hundred Women and Children) four Companies of Collonel *Babington*'s Regiment taking poſſeſſion of the Place. We found Seventeen Pieces of Cannon, one large Mortar, Eighty three Barrels of Powder, with ſome Fire Arms, and other uſeful Materials in the Caſtle.

Charlemont ſurrendred.

The ſame day that *Charlemont* was ſurrendred, Collonel *Woolſley*, and Collonel *Foulks*, with Twelve hundred men, went to a Caſtle called *Bellynacargy*, in which the Enemy had Two hundred men; this was ſcituate in a ſmall Lough, ſo that our men were forced to march up to their middles in water to make their Approaches; the Enemy fired ſmartly upon us, killed us Two Captains, an Enſign, and Seventeen men, and wounded Forty three; but when they ſaw us reſolved to have the Place, they hung out their White Flag, and agreed to march away without their Arms.

About the middle of *May*, one Captain *King*, Mr. *Wingfield* a Councellor at Law, and Mr. *Trench* a Clergy man, with five or ſix more, came from *Dublin*


Page. 16.
Dry Ground where ye Fort may be attackt
Meadows and Marshes
Dry Ground where ye Fort may be attackt
Meadows and Marshes
way to Duncannon
The Black water 12 yards over and 4 yds deep, in any Flood overflows all ye Meadows and Marshes
Meadows & Marshes under ye Command of ye Fort
H
G
A
D
B
C
E
F
H
I
Fields & Gardens under Command of ye Fort
Gardens and Orchards
Charlemont Town
Charlemont Town but destroyd
Orchards & Gardens
No attacking ye Fort on this side it being a Great Bogg
Marshes and Meadows
Here was
A Great bridge leading to Armagh over the Great Marsh and Bogg
A Ground Plot of ye
STRONG FORT of
CHARLEMONT
in IRELAND.
With the Town River Marshes
Boggs & places adjacent &ct
A The Castle
B The Guard house
G The Magazine
D The Well
E The Gate
F The Moat bridge
G The Moat
H The Pallasadoes
I The Bridge over the Black water
Drawne by Capt. Saml. Hobson.
who drew the most exact Map of London: Derry.
LONDON
Printed for and sold by R. Chiswell at ye Rose & Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard.
1690.
Engraven by I. Sturt.

lin in an open Boat, and gave the Duke a more exact Account how Matters went in the *Iriſh* Quarters, than any he had received formerly, which were of uſe to His Majeſty afterwards. The *6th* of *June* Count *Schomberg* (now Duke of *Leinſter*) came from *England*, and with him the Train, with ſome Arms and Ammunition, as alſo Two hundred Carpenters, with other Artificers for the ſervice of the Army. 1690.

1690.

CHAP. II.

His Majesty lands in Ireland. *Our Army takes the Field. The King marches towards the* Boyn. *His Majesty's narrow Escape the day before the Battel. The Battel of the* Boyn. *The number of the Dead. The Late King quits* Ireland. *Our Army marches to* Dublin. *His Majesty's Declaration to the* Irish. *A List of our General Officers; and of those belonging to the* Irish *Army. The number of men in both Armies. Our Army divides. Lieutenant-General* Douglass *marches with a Party towards* Athlone. *A Commission granted by the King to secure forfeited Goods.* Wexford *secured.* Clonmell *quitted.* Waterford, *and* Dungannon-*Fort surrendred to His Majesty. The King intends for* England, *and sends some Forces thither. But returns to the Camp.* Limerick *Besieged. Some of our Guns surprized. A Fort taken. An Attack upon the Town. Our men draw off. His Majesty raises the Siege, and returns to* England.

His Majesty Lands in *Ireland.*

ALL People were now big with hopes of His Majesty's coming for *Ireland*, who left *Kensington* the Fourth of *June* 1690. took Shipping at *Hylake* on the 12*th*; and on the 14*th*, being *Saturday*, he landed about Four in the Afternoon at *Carigfergus*; from whence, being upon the Road to *Belfast*, he was met by the General, Major-General *Kirk*, and a great many more Officers of the Army that were there, expecting His Majesty's Landing: And that Evening landed his Highness Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Earl of *Oxford*, Earl of *Portland*, Earl of *Scarborough*, Earl of *Manchester*, my Lord *Overkirk*, my Lord *Sidney*, with a great many other Persons of Quality, some of them

Officers

Officers in the Army, and others Volunteers. The two following days His Majeſty was attended by moſt of the Nobily, Clergy, and other Gentlemen inhabiting that part of the Kingdom. He was preſented alſo with an Addreſs from the Epiſcopal Clergy, and another from ſeveral Presbyterian Miniſters, both which His Majeſty received very graciouſly. 1690.

The King ſtayed at *Belfaſt* till *Thurſday* the 19*th*; and having ſet out a Proclamation to encourage all People, of what Perſuaſion ſoever, to live peaceably at home, His Majeſty went to *Hilsburrough*, giving Ordes for his Army to take the Field. And on the 22*th* His Majeſty Encampt at *Loughbritland* with that part of the Army which had their Rendezvouz there, and never laid out of the Camp (except upon his Journey from *Carnck* to *Dublin*), after that, during his ſtay in *Ireland*. That Morning a Party of Two hundred Foot and Dragoons going from *Newry* towards *Dundalk* to diſcover the Enemy (who ere this had taken the Field, and then lay encamped there) our men fell into an Ambuſcade of about Four hundred of the *Iriſh*, at a narrow Paſs upon a Bog, nigh a place called the *Four-mile Houſe*, by which we loſt Twenty two of our Party, and Captain *Farlow*, with another Officer, were taken Priſoners, but the Enemy did not gain much by this Attempt, for they loſt more in number than we did. Captain *Farlow* was the firſt who gave the Late King a certain Account of King *William*'s being in *Ireland*, for till then he would not believe it. All our Army takes the Field.

June the 27*th*, our whole Army joined at *Dundalk*, making in all about Thirty ſix thouſand, though the World called us at leaſt a third part more: The *Iriſh*, at our approach hither, had removed to the *Boyn*; And on *Sunday* the 29*th*, our Army marched beyond

1690. The Army marches to the *Boyn*.

Ardee, which the Enemy had fortified much after the ſame manner as they had done *Dundalk*; and early next morning our whole Army moved toward the *Boyne*, making their Approaches very finely. After ſome time His Majeſty ſent down ſmall Parties of Horſe to diſcover the Ways, and then rid towards the Paſs at *Old Bridge*, having a full view of the Enemy's Camp as he went along; His Majeſty ſtopt ſome time at *Old Bridge* to obſerve the Enemy's Poſture, and then going a little further, His Majeſty alighted to refreſh himſelf, and ſate nigh an hour upon the Graſs; during which time the Enemy brought down two Field-pieces under Covert of a ſmall Party of Horſe, and planted them at the Corner of a Hedge undiſcovered; and when His Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt were mounted again, and riding ſoftly the ſame way back, their Cannonier let fly, and at the ſecond Shot was ſo near the killing His Majeſty, as that the Bullet ſlanted upon his Right Shoulder, took away a piece of his Coat, and ſtruck off the Skin; which might have been a fatal Blow to his Army, and Kingdoms too, if the Great Creator of the World, who orders and governs all things, had not been at his Right Hand, where he always is, and, I hope, will be, as well for the defence of His Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, as the good of thoſe he has undertaken to protect.

His Majeſty's narrow Eſcape from a Great Shot.

The Enemy then fired thoſe two Pieces as faſt as they could charge and diſcharge, doing ſome damage amongſt our Horſe that were drawing up before them, which made the King give Orders for his Horſe to rein a little backwards, and have the advantage of a Riſing Ground between them and the Cannon.

About Three a Clock in the Afternoon ſome of our Field-pieces came up, which were immediately planted, and then played into the Enemy's Camp: the reſt of

of the day was ſpent in our Army's Encamping, and in firing Great Guns one upon another from ſeveral Batteries, without any extraordinary loſs 1690.

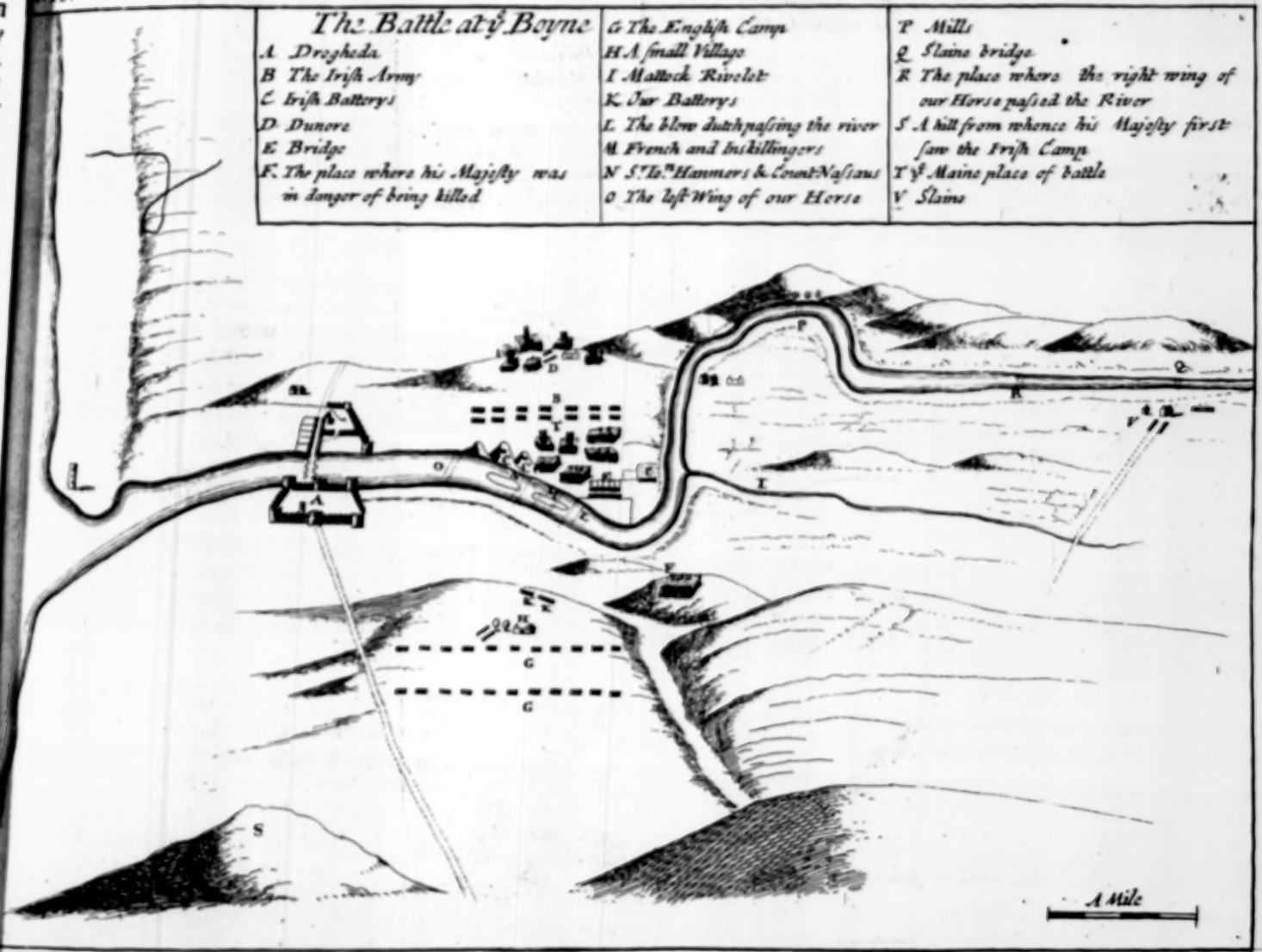
Whether His Majeſty had already an Account of what had happened to the Confederate Army at *Flerus*, I am not able to give an Account; but it's probable he had ſome intimation of it; ſince in a Council of War held that night, His Majeſty ſeemed poſitive in paſſing the River next day, and therefore gave Orders for his Army to be ready accordingly.

The late King had likewiſe another Council of War on his ſide the River, wherein all the *French* and *Iriſh* Officers agreed, (which was the only time they ever did ſo before or after), Not to give us Battel, but to march off in the night, and then retreat towards *Athlone* and *Limerick* filling all their Towns that were tenable, as they went, with ſufficient Gariſons to defend them. And their reaſon was this; as ſoon as Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* with his Squadron of Men of War had ſeen the King ſafe in *Ireland*, he was ordered to ſail immediately, and join my Lord *Torrington*, then at Sea with the *Engliſh* Fleet; which the *French* having notice of, and that all our Tranſport Ships with our Proviſions and other Neceſſaries for War, were left at *Carigfergus*-Bay with little or no Convoy, and would have Orders to coaſt along as the Army marched, they reſolved to ſend Ten ſmall Frigats and Twelve Privateers into the Channel, and burn all our Ships; which if it had been done then, our Communication from *England* had been in a manner cut off, and our Army forced to ſubſiſt upon the Countrey, or ſtarve; at leaſt we had been debarred thoſe Neceſſaries, without which the War could not have been carried on: This Deſign of the *French* was not unknown to the King, and therefore he was the more earneſt

1690. earneſt in going forward: It was adviſed therefore in the *Iriſh* Camp, That ſeeing we had a better Army by much in the Field than theirs (and might probably beat them if they engaged), to march away, and ſo protract the time till they ſaw what became of the Deſign about burning our Ships, which they were confident would take effect. But the late King himſelf was very much bent upon fighting, alledging, That if he retreated with his Army, and left *Dublin* and other places to the Enemy, the *Iriſh*, who are ſoon diſheartned, and only judge according to appearance, would all deſert him by degrees; and then himſelf and thoſe that ſtood by him, would be delivered up to the Mercy of the Enemy: So that ſeeing him in this humour, they were in hopes that a vigorous fit of Valour had ſeized him, and that he would next day play the Hero, in either Conquering Valiantly, or Dying Glorioufly; and then having ordered the diſpoſing of their Army, they concluded to ſtay and watch our motion

The Battel at the *Boyn.*

Tueſday the firſt of *July*, early in the morning, his Majeſty ſent Lieut. Gen. *Douglaſs*, my Lord *Portland*, my Lord *Overkirk*, and Count *Schonbergh*, with above Ten thouſand Horſe and Foot up the River, to paſs towards the Bridge of *Slane*; which the Enemy perceiving, they drew out ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot towards their Left, in order to oppoſe us: our men however, marched over without any difficulty, being only charged by Sir *Neal O Neal*'s Regiment of Dragoons, who were partly broke, and himſelf killed. Aſſoon as Lieutenant-General *Douglas* and his Party were got over, he ſent an Expreſs to his Majeſty to give him an Account of it; who then order'd the *Dutch* Guards, two *French* Regiments, two *Inniskilling* Regiments, Sir *John Hanmers*, and ſeveral others that lay moſt conve-


The Battle at ye Boyne
A Drogheda
B The Irish Army
C Irish Batterys
D Dunore
E Bridge
F The place where his Majesty was in danger of being killed
G The English Camp
H A small Village
I Mattock Rivelet
K Our Batterys
L The blew dutch passing the river
M French and Inskillingers
N S.r Tho.s Hammers & Count Nassaus
O The left Wing of our Horse
P Mills
Q Slaine bridge
R The place where the right wing of our Horse passed the River
S A hill from whence his Majesty first saw the Irish Camp
T ye Maine place of battle
V Slaine
A Mile

convenient for that Ground, to paſs the River, and Attack the *Iriſh* on the other ſide, which they did with a great deal of Bravery and Reſolution, firſt beating the *Iriſh* from their Hedges and Breaſt-works at *Old Bridge*, and then routing the Duke of *Berwick*'s Troop of Guards, my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s, and Collonel *Parker*'s Horſe, who all behaved themſelves like men of *Engliſh* Extraction, as indeed moſt of them were; during which time his Majeſty paſſed the River below with the Left Wing of his Horſe, and charged the Enemy ſeveral times at the Head of his own Troops, nigh a little Village called *Dunore*, where they rallied again, and gave us two or three briſk Attacks; but in leſs than half an hour were broke, and forced to make the beſt of their way towards *Duleek*, where there was a conſiderable Paſs, and whither the other part of the *Iriſh* Army that faced Lieutenant General *Douglaſs*, had made what haſte they could, when they heard how it had gone with their Friends at *Old-Bridge*; our Army then preſſed hard upon them, but meeting with a great many difficutlies in the Ground, and being obliged to purſue in Order, our Horſe had only the opportunity of cutting down ſome of their Foot, and moſt of the reſt got over the Paſs at *Duleek*; then night coming on, prevented us from making ſo entire a Victory of it as could have been wiſhed for. 1690.

On the *Iriſh* ſide were killed my Lord *Dungan*, my Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, with a great number of other Officers, and about Thirteen or Fourteen hundred Soldiers; and we loſt on our ſide nigh Four hundred; but the loſs of Duke *Schonberg*, who was killed ſoon after the firſt of our Forces paſſed the River, near the little Village called *Old-Bridge*, was much more conſiderable than all that fell that day on both

The number of the Dead.

1690. both ſides; whom his very Enemies always called a Brave Man, and a Great General; whoſe Name will make a conſiderable Figure in Hiſtory, whilſt there are ſuch places as *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *England*, and *Ireland*. Monſieur *Callimot*, a brave and worthy Gentleman, died ſoon after him, of his Wounds, having followed that great man in moſt of his Fortunes; whoſe elder Brother the Marqueſs *Ruvigny* had Duke *Schonberg*'s Regiment of *French* Horſe beſtowed upon him by the King. For the further Particulars of this Battel, and what hapned during the preceding Campaign, and alſo the moſt material Circumſtances of this, I refer the Reader to the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory, already printed.

Some will pretend to ſay, That his Majeſty was a little too ſoon in the paſſing his Foot over the River, for the Left Wing of the *Iriſh* Army ſeemed reſolved to fight *Douglaſs*; but when they heard how things went at *Old-Bridge*, they retreated immediately towards *Duleek*, and ſo marched off untouched: But there was a very good reaſon for what his Majeſty did in this caſe, for it was about a quarter paſt Ten when our Foot firſt entred the River; and if the King had deferred it an hour longer, then the Tide, which generally comes up above *Old-Bridge*, would certainly have prevented our men from paſſing either there or below; ſo that the Right Wing of our Army had been expoſed to the hazard of fighting all theirs, and the reſt not able to come to their relief, till poſſibly it had been too late; and this may ſerve to anſwer whatever can be objected in that caſe.

The late King at the beginning of this Battel ſtood by an old Church near the Village called *Dunore*; but aſſoon as he ſaw his men give way, he made haſte to *Duleek*, and from thence to *Dublin*, whither he

he got that Evening by Nine a Clock, and early next morning ſent for the Popiſh Lord-Mayor, with ſome other Officers of the City, and gave them a charge not to burn it; and then going towards *Bray*, ſcarce looked behind him afterwards till he got to *Waterford*, and ſo on Ship-board for *France*, leaving his poor *Teagues* to fight it out, or do what they pleaſed for him: And what was more remarkable, finding ſome of the Frigats at *Waterford* that were to go upon the Project of Burning our Ships, he told them all was loſt, and that it was paſt time, and ſo took them along with him; which prevented any further Attempts upon our Ships. Whilſt his preſent Majeſty King *William* gave his Army other kind of Proofs both of his Courage and Conduct, having a Soul far above Fear, or any thing that may look mean in ſo Great a Prince: Nor ever had an Army a more entire Affection for their chief Commander, than his Majeſty's for him; his Reſolution being always undaunted, and their only Fear being for his Majeſty's Perſon. And whatever difference happens hereafter between his Majeſty and his Army, can only be this, That they deſire to ſtand between his Perſon and all Danger, but he always has a mind to put himſelf between them and it. May we long therefore have ſuch a General in a King; and he not only Soldiers but Subjects too of all other Profeſſions, that honour him to that degree. 1690.

Thoſe of our *Engliſh* Forces that were engaged, and had opportunity to ſhew themſelves, gave ſignal demonſtrations of their Courage and Bravery; the *Inniskilliners*, and *French* too, both Horſe and Foot, did good ſervice; and the *Dutch* Guards deſerve no ſmall Honour for their Conduct that day.

1690. After the Battel, our Army lay upon their Arms all night at *Duleek*, having left our Tents all ſtanding beyond the *Boyne*: And next morning his Majeſty ſent Brigadier *La Mellionere*, with One thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, a Party of Foot, and Eight Pieces of Cannon, to ſummons *Drogheda*, wherein the *Iriſh* had a Gariſon of about 1300 men, commanded by my Lord *Iveagh*, who ſurrendred the Town, upon Condition, That his *Gariſon* ſhou'd have leave to march out without their Arms, and be conducted to *Athlone*: Tho their Barbarity in tying the Proteſtants in Town back to back, and placing them where they expected our Guns to play, ought not to be forgot. This is a Town of no great ſtrength, only a Mount whereon are planted Ten Guns on the *South*-ſide the River, ſeems capable of Defence.

Thurſday the 3*d*. of *July*, his Majeſty had an Account, That the *Iriſh* had left *Dublin*, and were making what haſte they could towards the *Shannon*; upon which the Duke of *Ormond* marched to that City, with One thouſand Horſe, and found Captain *Farlow* Governor of the Caſtle, who two days before had been a Priſoner; his Grace took poſſeſſion of all the Out-Guards of the Town with his Horſe, and the *Dutch* Blue Guards were ſent to the Caſtle. The 5*th*. our Army marched to *Finglaſs*, a little Village two miles to the *North-weſt* of *Dublin*, where we lay encamped for ſeveral days. The 6*th*. being *Sunday*, his Majeſty went to St. *Patrick*'s Church in *Dublin*; and next day towards the evening, the Biſhop of *Meath*, the Biſhop of *Limerick*, Dr. *King*, and all the Clergy then about *Dublin* (except the Lord Primate, who ſent his Excuſe to his Majeſty, by reaſon of his great Age and Infirmneſs) waited upon the King at his Camp, where the Biſhop of *Meath* made an excellent Con-

His Majeſty with his Army marches to *Dublin*.

Congratulatory Speech, for his Majeſty's happy Victory, and their Deliverance: Whereunto his Majeſty gave a Gracious Anſwer. And the Biſhop of *Limerick* deſired they might appoint a Day of Publick Thankſgiving, and have leave to Compoſe a Form of Prayer ſuitable to the occaſion; which was granted. 1690.

The ſame day his Majeſty ſigned a Declaration, 'wherein he promiſed Protection to all poor Labourers, 'common Soldiers, Countrey-Farmers, Plow-men and 'Coltiers; as alſo to all Citizens, Tradeſmen, Townſ-'men, and Artificers, who either remained at home, or 'having fled from their Dwellings, ſhould return by 'the firſt of *Auguſt* following, *&c.* leaving all others to 'the Event of War, unleſs by great and manifeſt de-'monſtrations they would convince his Majeſty that 'they deſerved his Mercy, which he promiſed never 'to refuſe to thoſe who were truly penitent. His Majeſty's Declaration to the *Iriſh*.

A great many of the *Iriſh* Officers complained, That this Declaration was too narrow in excluding them from any Advantage by it; and that they were obliged afterwards to ſtick together, as being their only ſafety; but this Declaration was narrower than his Majeſty's Royal Intentions, on purpoſe to comply with the *Engliſh* Proprietors of that Countrey: And as to the *Iriſh* Officers, this was only a pretence; for when it was enlarged afterwards by his Majeſty, and the Government the year ſucceeding made them all the reaſonable Proffers that could be hoped or wiſhed for, yet moſt of them continued obſtinate till they could not help it. But tho his Majeſty was very careful to have this and his other Declaration that ſucceeded it, obſerved, yet ſome Officers and Soldiers were apt to forget the King's Honour, with that of our Countrey and Religion too, when they ſtood in competion with their own Profit and Advantage. The *Iriſh* Objections againſt the Declaration.

1690. Our Army mustered.

That day and the next his Majesty took a view of his Army by distinct Regiments; nor did the inconveniency of the bad Weather which fell out at that time, prevent him from observing each Regiment very nicely; the whole number of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons that marched in the Ranks, was 30330. besides 483 Reformed Officers, as also all the Officers and Serjeants in the Army, and Four Regiments in Garison; so that the compleat Number of our whole Army was at least 36000, as is said before. Nor will it be improper to give here a List of our General Officers, who commanded this Campaign under his Majesty, and were employed in his Service; but we must take it from the beginning, since his Grace Duke *Schonberg* was killed ere this.

A List of the General Officers of Their Majesties Army, 1690.

A List of their Majesties Army, 1690.

Frederick Duke of *Schonberg*, Captain-General.
The Duke of *Wirtenbergh*, General of the *Danes*.
Count *Solmes*, General of the Foot.
Count *Schonberg*, General of the Horse.
Lieutenant-General *Douglass*.

Lord *Overkirk*,
Earl of *Portland*,
} *Maistres Generals des Camp.*

Henry Lord Viscount *Sidney*,
Count *Nassau*,
Major-General *Kirk*,
Major-General *Tetteau*,
} Major-Generals of Foot.

Monsieur

1690.

Monſieur *Screvenmore*,
Maj Gen. *La Forreſt*,
Sir *John Lanier*, } Major-Generals of Horſe.

Monſieur *Du Cambon*, Quarter-maſter-General.

Brigadier *Trelawney*,
Sir *Henry Bellaſis*,
Sir *John Hanmer*,
Brigadier *Stuart*,
Brigad. *La Mellionere*, } Brigadiers of Foot.

Brigad. *Villars*,
Brigad. *Eppinger*,
Brigad. *Schack*, } Brigadiers of Horſe.

Sir *Robert Southwell*, Secretary of State.

Thomas Coningesby, Eſq; (now Lord *Coningesby*) and *Charles Fox*, Eſq;, Pay-maſters-General.

Si. *John Topham*, Advocate-General.

Henry Wythers, Adjutant-General of Foot.

Francis Ruſſel, Adjutant-General of Horſe.

George Clark, Eſq;, Secretary at War.

Monſieur *Perara*, Commiſſary-General of the Proviſions.

Abraham Tarner, Eſq;, Muſter-maſter-General.

Dr. *Lawrence*, Phyſician-General.

Charles Thompſon, Eſq;, Chyrurgion-General.

A CATA-

1690.

A Liſt of the *Iriſh* General Officers.

A CATALOGUE of the General Officers and others in King *James*'s Army; taken out of the Muſter-Rolls: *June* the 2*d*, 1690.

DUKE of *Tyrconnel*, Captain-General.

Duke of *Berwick*, } Lieutenant-Generals.
Richard Hambleton, }

Count *Lauzune* General of the *French*.

Monſieur *Leary*, alias *Geraldine*, Lieutenant-General.

Dominick Sheldon, Lieutenant-General of the Horſe.

Patrick Sarsfield, }
Anthony Hambleton, } Major-Generals.
Monſieur *Boiſeleau*, }

Thomas Maxwell, }
John Hambleton, } Brigadeers.
William Dorrington, }

Solomon Slater, Muſter-maſter-General.

Robert Fitz-Gerald, Comptroler of the Muſters.

Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary at War.

Sir *Henry Bond*, } Receivers General.
Louis Doe, }

Sir *Michael Creagh*, Pay-maſter General.

Fælix Oneil, Advocate General.

Dr. *Archbold*, Phyſician to the State.

Patrick Archbold, Chyrurgeon General.

The

The *Iriſh* had at that time in their Army Two Troops of Horſe-Guards, with another of Horſe-Granadiers; Eight Regiments of Horſe, Seven Regiments of Dragoons; a Regiment of Foot Guards of Twenty two Companies, and Ninety men in a Company; Forty four other Regiments of Foot, Thirteen Companies in a Regiment, and Sixty men in a Company, which with the Five thouſand *French* Foot, made their Army, according to their own Computation of the Regiments, and the numbers in each, to be 39320 Foot, 3471 Horſe, and 2480 Dragoons, which in all make an Army of 50271. beſides their Rapparees in all the Corners of the Countrey; but theſe were all that they had to man the whole Gariſons of *Ireland*; ſo that they were not above 27000 at the *Boyn*, beſides the *French*. 1690.

But to return. About the 8*th* or 9*th* of *July* it was known abroad, That His Majeſty had an Account of the Misfortune of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets, at which time he divided his Army, and marched himſelf towards *Kilkenny* with the greateſt part of it. For though His Majeſty was ſenſible, that going with his whole Army towards *Athlone*, and ſo into *Connaght*, was the readieſt way to reduce the *Iriſh*; yet having ſome Reaſons to apprehend that the *French*, after the Battel of *Fleurus*, might ſend off Detachments from their Army, and ſo diſturb *England*; or at leaſt ſend part of their Fleet, and burn his Tranſport-Ships, he made haſt to ſecure *Waterford* Haven for them, ſince the Bay of *Dublin* is no Place of ſafety. Sending at the ſame time Lieutenant-General *Douglas* with three Regiments of Horſe, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot, towards *Athlone*, Fifty miles to the Northweſt from *Dublin*; before which Place he came on the 17*th* with the aforeſaid Party, Twelve Field-pieces,

1690 pieces, and two ſmall Mortars: The *Iriſh* burnt and deſerted that part of *Athlone* on *Leinſter* ſide, the Bridge called the *Engliſh* Town: But ſeeing our Party, and our Train not ſuitable to ſuch an Undertaking, and having three Regiments of Foot, nine Troops of Dragoons, and two of Horſe, in, and about the Town, with a freſh ſupply of Forces not far off; they poſitively refuſed to deliver up the Place, which Lieutenant-General *Douglas* ſeeing no hopes of forcing them to, on *Friday* the 25*th*, early in the morning, he raiſed his Siege, and marched to join the King's Army again, having not loſt above Thirty men before the place, but near Three hundred by Sickneſs, and other Accidents. Our riſing from before that Town did ſo puff up the *Iriſh*, that one *Malady*, the Late King's High Sheriff for the County of *Longford*, got at leaſt Three thouſand of the Rabble, or ſuch like People together, near *Mullingar*, where they hectored and ſwaggered for ſome days; but Collonel *Woolſley* with his own Horſe, and two Regiments of Foot, being ſent back to ſecure that part of the Countrey, about Forty of his Horſe, being an Advance Guard, fell in with a Party of the *Iriſh* towards the Evening, which giving the Alarm to the reſt, they immediately began to diſperſe, and every man to ſhift for himſelf; and Night coming on, our Party had only the opportunity of killing about Thirty of them, High Sheriff *Malady* himſelf being wounded, and never ſince able to raiſe ſuch another *poſſe Commitatus*.

A Commiſſion about Forfeited Goods.

But to return to His Majeſty's Camp, which on the 9*th*, he pitched at a place called *Cromlin*, two miles to the Weſt of *Dublin*, where the King ſetled the method of granting Protections according to his Declaration. And then gave a Commiſſion to *Francis*, Earl of *Long-*

1690.

Longford; *Anthony* Lord Biſhop of *Meath*; *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Eſq;, Sir *Henry Pane*, Doctor *Gorge*, *William Robinſon*, Eſq;, *Joſeph Coghlin*, Eſq; *Edward Corker*, Eſq;, and *Henry Davis*, Eſq;, or any five of them, to enquire into, ſeize, and ſecure all Forfeitures to the Crown by the General Rebellion of the *Iriſh* Nation: This Commiſſion empowered them to appoint Deputies to ſummon and ſwear Witneſſes, to call the Juſtices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants to their Aſſiſtance, to let Leaſes for a year, and in doubtful Caſes, to conſult the Judges learned in the Law; and this Power of theirs to continue until a more legal method could be put in practice when the Courts of Judicature were open. The Biſhop of *Meath*, whether his Lordſhip was ſenſible of the Defect of the Commiſſion at firſt, or elſe did not like the Proceedings of ſome of the reſt, he ſoon forbore his attendance at their Meetings; but ſeveral of the reſt proceeded in their Buſineſs, and took poſſeſſion of Goods of all ſorts, as well in the Hands of *Roman-Catholicks*, and on their Grounds, as in the hands of Proteſtants, where they had been left by their Catholick Neighbours; upon which account thoſe Gentlemen had the misfortune to be much cenſured afterwards, as well by ſome in the Countrey, where they made Seiſures, as by the Commiſſioners of Their Majeſty's Revenue, who complained of the ſmall Returns made into the Exchequer. This occaſioned ſeveral of the above-named Gentlemen, who had been imployed to make a repreſentation of their Caſe afterwards to the Lords Juſtices, which I have ſeen, and it was to this effect: 'That amongſt a great 'many Diſcouragements in ſo troubleſome an Im-'ployment, their Commiſſion it ſelf was ſo defe-

1690 'ctive, that it ſeemed a perfect Snare to them (contrary to the intent or Intereſt of His Majeſty) in that it gave them power to ſeize upon all Forfeitures, but not to diſpoſe of any (except of Lands by leaſe for a year) by which means, the Goods ſeized by the Commiſſioners, and their Deputies, were often either ſtole, or forced away, ſometimes by the Army, and at other times by the Rapparees, after they had been at great charge about them. And a great many other things they have to ſay for themſelves, by which it appears, that thoſe Aſperſions caſt upon ſome of them were groundleſs though others of them, or where-ever the fault elſe laid; ſome, I ſay, there were who did Their Majeſties Affairs no great Advantage, nor themſelves much Credit by their management. But this being a matter of publick Concern, is none of my buſineſs to look into.

Wexford ſecured.

His Majeſty then marched forwards, and from a Place called *Caſtledermot*, ſent Brigadier *Eppinger* with a Party of One thouſand Horſe and Dragoons to ſecure *Wexford*, which before his Arrival was deſerted by the *Iriſh* Gariſon. The King all along upon his march was acquainted with the Diſorders and Confuſion of the *Iriſh* Army, and of their ſpeedy marches to *Limerick*, and other Strong Holds. The 19*th* His Majeſty dined at *Kilkenny*, a Walled Town, wherein ſtands a Caſtle belonging to the Duke of *Ormond*, which had been preſerved by Count *Lauzun*, with all the Goods and Furniture. And next day His Majeſty underſtood that the Enemy had quitted *Clonmell*, whither Count *Sconberg* marched with a Body of Horſe.

Clonmel quitted by the *Iriſh*.

Monday

1690.

Monday the 21*ſt*, The Army marched to *Carrick*, where the King received an Account of the ſtate of *Waterford*, and whither Major-General *Kirk* went next morning with a Party to ſummon the Town, wherein were two Regiments of the *Iriſh*, who ſubmitted upon condition to march out with their Arms; As did alſo the ſtrong Fort of *Duncannon* in a day or two after, which gave His Majeſty ſufficient ſhelter for all his Shipping. When *Waterford* was ſurrendered, His Majeſty in Perſon went to view it; where he admitted my Lord *Dover* to a more particular Protection than ordinary, becauſe he had applied himſelf formerly by a Letter to Major General *Kirk* to deſire a Paſs for himſelf, and Family, to go into *Flanders*.

Waterford and *Duncannon* Fort ſurrendred.

His Majeſty, at his return to the Camp, declared his Reſolution to go for *England*, and leaving Count *Solmes* Commander in Chief; he went as far as *Chappel-Izard*, nigh *Dublin*, with that Intention; ordering one Troop of Guards, Count *Scomberg*'s Horſe (formerly my Lord *Devonſhires*) Collonel *Matthews*'s Dragoons, Brigadier *Trelawny*'s, and Collonel *Haſtings*'s Foot, to be ſhipt off for that Kingdom. And on the firſt of *Auguſt* His Majeſty publiſhed a Second Declaration, not only confirming and ſtrengthening the former; but alſo adding, *That if any Foreigners then in Arms againſt him in that Kingdom would ſubmit, they ſhould have Paſſes to go into their own Countries, or whither elſe they pleaſed.*

The King intends for *England*.

And ſends ſome Forces thither.

A Proclamation was alſo publiſhed for all the *Iriſh* in the Countrey to deliver up their Arms; and thoſe

1690. who refuſed, or neglected, to be abandoned to the Diſcretion of the Soldiers. As alſo another Proclamation for a Weekly Faſt. And then His Majeſty appointed *Richard Pine*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Reves*, and *Robert Rochfort*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, who began now to act accordingly.

But returns to the Camp.

But the King received a further Account from *England*, That the loſs at Sea was not ſo conſiderable as it was at firſt given out; and that there was no danger of any more *French* Forces landing in that Kingdom; they having already burnt only a ſmall Village, and ſo were gone off without doing any further damage. The danger of that being therefore over, His Majeſty returned to the Army, which he found encamped at *Golden Bridge*, nigh *Caſhell*, and about ſeventeen miles from *Limrick*, where His Majeſty had intelligence of the Poſture of the Enemy in, and about that City.

Limerick Beſieged.

Auguſt the 8*th*, Lieutenant General *Douglas*, and his Party from *Athlone*, joined the King's Army at *Carigaulis*. And on the 9*th*, the whole Army approached that ſtrong Hold of *Limerick* without any conſiderable loſs, the greateſt part of their Army being Encampt beyond the River, in the County of *Clare*. His Majeſty, as ſoon as his Army was poſted, ſent a Summons to the Town, which was refuſed to be obeyed by Monſieur *Boiſeleau*, the Duke of *Berwick*, *Sarsfield*, and ſome more, though a great part of their Army were even then willing to Capitulate. Next Morning early the King ſent a Party of Horſe and Foot under Major-General *Ginckell*, and Major-General *Kirk*, to paſs the River, which they did near

Sir

Sir *Samuel Foxon*'s Houſe, about two miles above the Town. 1690.

The ſame day, ſome Deſerters from the Enemy gave his Majeſty an account of their Circumſtances; and one of our own Gunners did as much for us, who informed the Enemy of our Poſture in the Camp, as alſo of Eight Pieces of Cannon, with Ammunition, Proviſions, the Tin-Boats, and ſeveral other Neceſſaries then upon the Road, which *Sarsfield* with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons had the luck to ſurprize two days after at a little old Caſtle called *Ballynedy*, within ſeven miles of our Camp, killing about Sixty of the Soldiers and Waggoners, and then marched off with little or no oppoſition, tho his Majeſty had given Orders for a Party of Horſe to go from the Camp and meet the Guns the night before. Some of our Guns ſurprized.

Tueſday the 12*th*. Brigadier *Stuart* went with a Party and four Field-Pieces to *Caſtle Connel*, a Strong-hold upon the *Shannon*, four miles from *Limerick*, the beſieged being 126, under one Captain *Barnwell*, after ſome time ſubmitted, and were brought Priſoners to the Camp. *Caſtle Connel* taken.

Sunday the 17*th*. at night, we opened our Trenches, which were mounted by Seven Battalions under the Duke of *Wirtenbergh*, Major-General *Kirk*, Major-General *Tetteau*, and Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, beating the *Iriſh* out of a Fort nigh two old Chimneys, where about Twenty were killed; and next night our Works were relieved by Lieutenant General *Douglas*, my Lord *Sidney*, Count *Naſſau*, and Brigadier *Stuart*, with the like number; and the day following, we planted ſome new Our Trenches opened.

1690. new Batteries; which his Majeſty going to view, as he was riding towards *Ireton*'s Fort, he ſtopt his Horſe on a ſudden to ſpeak to an Officer, a Four and twenty pound Ball the very moment grazing on the ſide of the Gap where his Majeſty was going to enter, which certainly muſt have daſh'd him to pieces, had not the commanding God of Heaven prevented it, who ſtill reſerves him for greater matters. This I ſaw, being then upon the Fort, as I did that other Accident at the *Boyne* before.

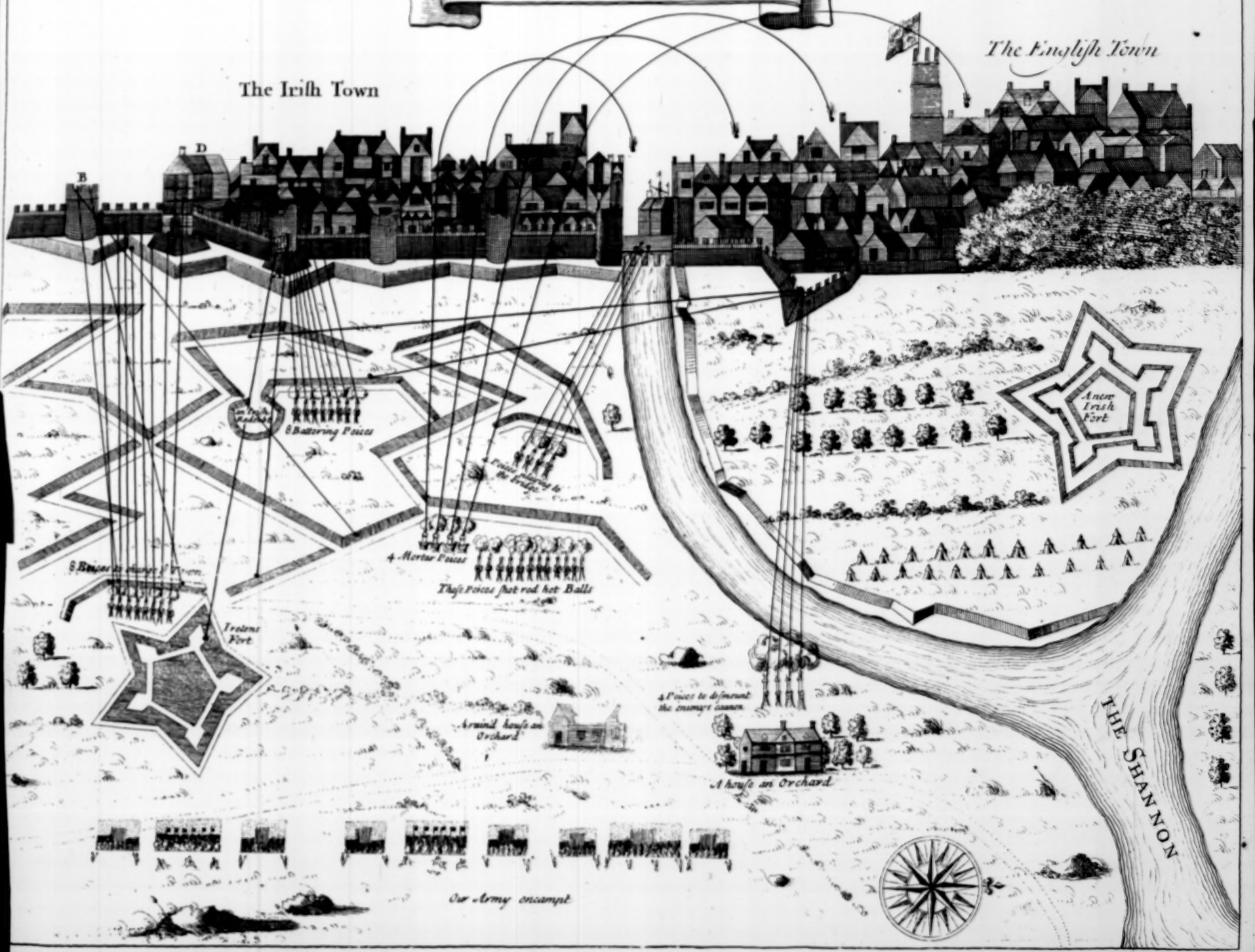
A Fort taken. *Wedneſday* the 20*th.* we attack'd a Fort of the Enemies nigh the *South Eaſt* Corner of the Wall, which we ſoon took, and killed 50, taking a Captain and twelve men Priſoners; and about an hour after, the Enemy ſallyed with great Bravery, thinking to regain the Fort, but were beat in with loſs, there being killed in the Fort and the Sally about Three hundred, though we loſt Captain *Needham*, Captain *Lacy*, and about Eighty private men.

We continued battering the Town, throwing in Bombs and Carcaſſes till *Wedneſday* the 27*th.* when a conſiderable Breach being made, Five hundred Granadeers ſupported by Seven Regiments of Foot, and all our Works double manned, were ordered to attack the Counterſcarp, and lodge themſelves as conveniently as they could thereabouts. Between three and four in the Afternoon, the Signal being given, our men attack'd the Enemy very briskly, beating them from their Works, and ſo over the Breach into the Town; but ſeveral of them purſuing too far, and the reſt not ſeconding them, as having no Orders to go any further, the *Iriſh* alſo ſeeing themſelves purſued by ſo ſmall

An Attack made upon the Town.

A PROSPECT of LIMERICK
BEARING DUE WEST
Exactly shewing ye Approaches Batteries & Breach &c
Sold by R. Chiswell in St Pauls churchyard

A a fort of ye Kinings
B a round towre with 3 Gunns
C a Sally Port
D the Gate house



made upon the Town.

in the Afternoon, the Signal being given, our men attack'd the Enemy very briskly, beating them from their Works, and ſo over the Breach into the Town; but ſeveral of them purſuing too far, and the reſt not ſeconding them, as having no Orders to go any further, the *Iriſh* alſo ſeeing themſelves purſued by ſo ſmall

ſmall a number, they were perſuaded to face about, and out-numbring our poor men they killed a great many of them; freſh Regiments alſo coming from beyond the River, and all together adventuring upon the Walls; our men below having likewiſe no cover, after a Diſpute of three hours and an half (in which time there was nothing but one continued Fire of Great and Small-ſhot) our men were obliged to return back to their own Trenches again, having loſt 15 Officers, (beſides the Foreigners, and thoſe of the Granadiers) about 50 wounded, 500 men killed, and near One thouſand wounded, whereof greateſt part recovered; tho I'm apt to think the *Iriſh* did not loſe ſo many, ſince it's a much eaſier thing to defend Walls, than by plain ſtrength to force people from them. 1690. Our men draw off.

Next day the Soldiers were in hopes that his Majeſty would give orders for a ſecond Attack, and ſeemed reſolved to have the Town, or loſe all their lives; but this was too great a riſque to run at one place; and they did not know how our Ammunition was ſunk, eſpecially by the former day's work; we continued however our Batteries; and then a ſtorm of Rain and other bad weather begun to threaten us, which fell out on *Friday* the 29*th.* in good earneſt; upon which his Majeſty calling a Council of War, it was concluded the ſafeſt way was to quit the Siege, without which we could not have ſecured our heavy Cannon, which we drew off from the Batteries by degrees, and found much difficulty in marching them five miles next day. *Sunday* the laſt of *Auguſt*, all our Army drew off; moſt of the Proteſtants that lived in that part of the Countrey taking that opportunity of removing His Majeſty raiſed the Siege.

1690. removing further into the Countrey with the Army; and would rather leave their Eſtates and all their Subſtance in the Enemies hands, than truſt their perſons any more in their power.

His Majeſty ſeeing the Campaign nigh an end, went towards *Waterford*, where he appointed *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*, Sir *Charles Porter*, and *Tho. Conningſby*, Eſq; Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*; and then ſetting ſail with a fair Wind for *England*, his Majeſty was welcomed thither with all the Joy and Satisfaction imaginable.

And returns to *England*.

CHAP.

September, 1690.

CHAP. III.

The French *Forces quit* Ireland. Birr *beſieg'd by the* Iriſh; *who draw off towards* Banagher *Bridge. Count* Solms's *Anſwer to the Duke of* Berwick's *Letter. Lieutenant-General* Ginckel *made Commander in Chief of the Army. Lords-Juſtices begin their Government. The Earl of* Marlborough *ſent with a Fleet into* Ireland. Cork *and* Kinſale *taken. The* Iriſh *make Attempts upon our Frontiers. Part of our Army move towards the* Shannon. *Rapparees in the Bog of* Allen: *Thoſe People ſerviceable to the* Iriſh *Intereſt, and how. My Lord* Tyrconnel *returns from* France. Sarsfield *made Earl of* Lucan. *The* Iriſh *defeated at the Mote of* Greenoge. *Several Adventures with the Rapparees, and Parties of the* Iriſh *Army. Some of our Regiments take the Field at* Mullingar.

ON the ſixth of *September* our Army marched to *Tipperary*, about fourteen Miles from *Limerick*, where they begun to diſperſe towards their reſpective Quarters. And we had an Account by ſome Deſerters, that my Lord *Tyrconnel* and all the *French* Forces were Ship'd off at *Gallway* for *France*. The reaſon of this was alſo enquired after by a great many; that the *French* ſhou'd abſolutely quit *Ireland*, at a time when we had raiſed our Siege, which might have given them hopes of re-gaining the next Year what they loſt this; at leaſt, to defend the Province of *Connaught* againſt us, and ſo protract the War beyond what they cou'd have hoped for if the Town had been taken; and that if the want of Proviſions was an Objection, it was eaſier to carry thoſe to the Men than bring the Men to their Proviſions. But the reaſon that I have heard given for their departure was, That the late

The *French* leave *Ireland*.

September, 1690. King appearing very unexpectedly in *France*, at a time when all People were over-joyed with the News of the Battel of *Fleurus* won at Land, and a Victory alſo gained at Sea; to palliate matters therefore as to himſelf, he laid all the blame upon the *Iriſh*, that they wou'd not fight, but many of them laid down their Arms in ſuch order, as if they had been Exerciſing; which indeed ſome of them did: Upon which, the *Fr.* K. concluding that all was loſt in that Kingdom, he ſent Orders to Count *Lauzun* to make the beſt of a bad Market, and ſo come off for *France* as well as he could, with all his Men. But the *Iriſh*, taking heart of grace at our Fleets and the *Dutch* Armies misfortunes, they held out beyond expectation: And thoſe Orders of the *French* Kings, not coming till after His Majeſty had raiſed the Siege of *Limerick*, Count *Lauzun* waited about twelve Days for a Countermand; but that not appearing he ſet ſail for *France*, tho' he met with contrary Orders at Sea; but then it was too late: For His Majeſty had been a Fortnight at *London* before they heard at *Paris* that the Siege of *Limerick* was raiſed; which ſhewed, that whatever good Intelligence they might have from *England* or *Ireland* at other times, they wanted it now; but whether the Wind was croſs, or what elſe was the reaſon, I am uncertain.

Birr beſieged by the *Iriſh*.

About the fourteenth we heard that *Sarsfield*, with a part of the *Iriſh* Army, had marched over the *Shannon* at *Banoher*-Bridge, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Birr*, wherein was only a Company of Colonel *Tiffin*'s Foot, who ſtoutly defended the Caſtle, the only tenible place; but Major-General *Kirk* marching thither with a part of our Army, the Enemy quitted the Siege and marched off.

At this time Count *Solms*, who commanded in Chief, was at *Caſhel*, where he received a Letter by a Trumpeter from the Duke of *Berwick*, then at *Limerick*, complaining that they heard of a Deſign of ours, to ſend all thoſe Priſoners, we had taken at ſeveral places, to be Slaves in the

the Foreign Plantations; and withal, threatning ours with the *French* Gallies. But this was only a trick of the *Iriſh* Officers themſelves, to prevent their Soldiers from deſerting, making them believe there was a Contract to ſell them all to Monſieur *Perara* the *Jew* for ſo much Bread, (which made the name of the *Jew* very terrible to the *Iriſh*.) But this was a mere Story of their own framing; and therefore Count *Solms* ſent the following Anſwer to the Duke's Letter. *September*, 1690.

Henry *Count* de Solms, *General of Their Majeſties Army in their Kingdom of* Ireland.

Count *Solms*'s Anſwer to the Duke of *Berwick*'s Letter.

HAving never before heard of a Deſign, to ſend thoſe Numbers of your Men we have Priſoners, to the Foreign Plantations, we detained your Trumpeter here for ſome Days, in hopes we might have been able to trace this Report which you ſend us word is ſpread about of ſuch our Intentions; but no enquiry we have made, giving us the leaſt light therein, we have reaſon to think, that neither thoſe Priſoners we have of yours need fear ſo long a Voyage, nor thoſe few of ours in your hands be apprehenſive of yielding a ſmall Recruit to the French *King's Gallies: However, we think fit to declare, that your Men ſhall ſeverely feel the effects of any ill uſage you ſhall offer to ours; for which they may reckon themſelves obliged to their Generals.* Given at our Head-Quarters, at *Caſhel*, the 21ſt. Day of *September*, 1690.

To the Duke of Berwick, *or the Officer in Chief, commanding the Enemies Forces.*

Soon after this, Count *Solms* went for *England*, and the Baron *de Ginckel* was made Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Army, who went to his Head-Quarters at *Kilkenny*.

Lieutenant-General *Ginckel* made Commander in Chief.

Towards the middle of *September*, *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*, and *Thomas Coningesby*, Eſquire, two of the Lords-

September, 1690. Juſtices, went to *Dublin*, where they took the uſual Oaths of Chief Governors of that Kingdom, before the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; and immediately begun their work of putting the Country in as good a condition of Safety as the nature of the times would bear.

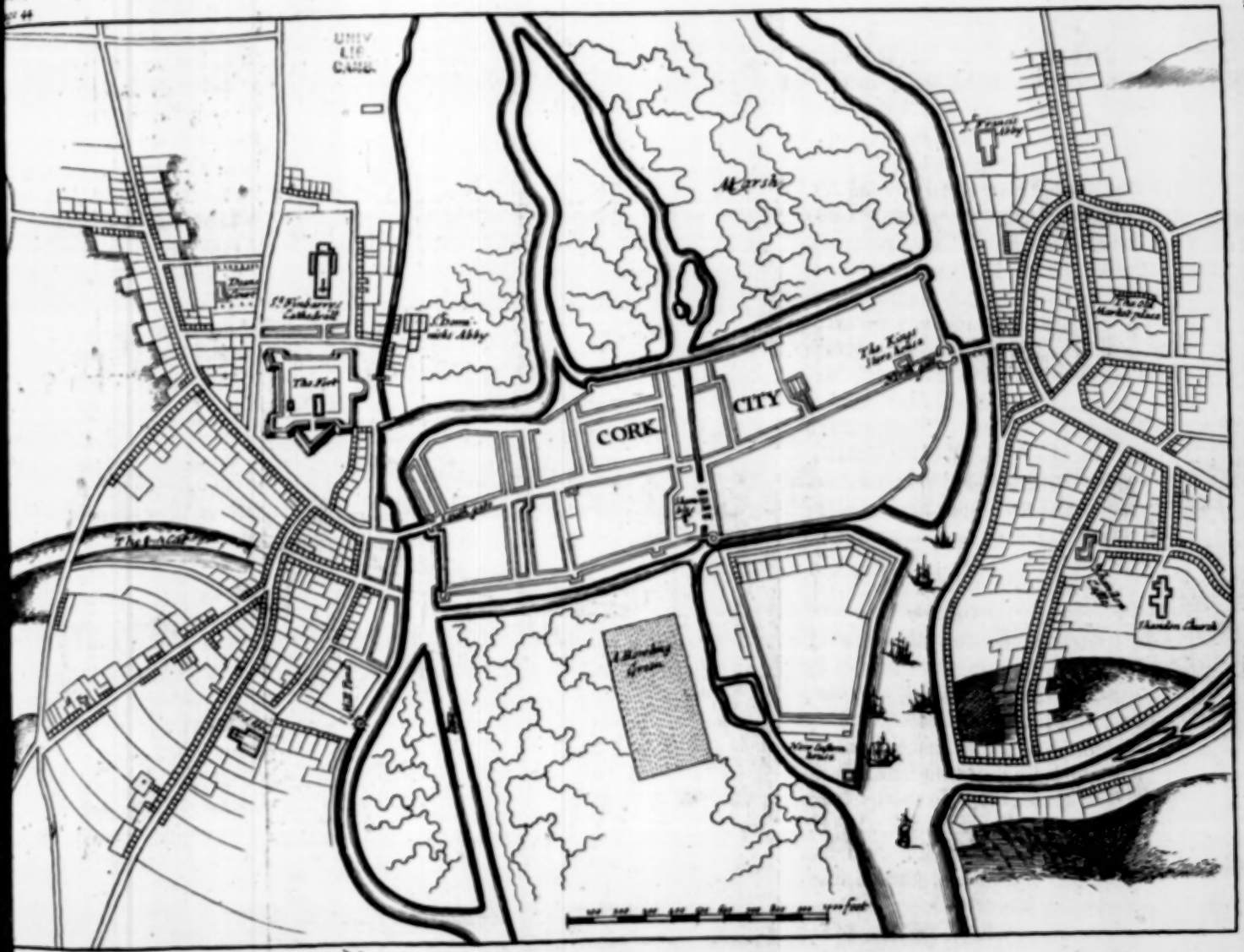
The Lords-Juſtices go to *Dublin*.

Whilſt the King was imployed in the Field with his Army againſt the Town of *Limerick*, it was firſt propoſed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, to my Lord *Marlborough*, and afterwards approved of in Councel, as very Advantageous to Their Majeſties Affairs, to ſend a Party from *England*, who, joyning with a Detachment from the King's Army, might reduce thoſe two important Garriſons of *Cork* and *Kinſale*; and proviſions were made accordingly: But not being ready ſo ſoon as was deſigned, His Majeſty, upon His return for *England*, ſent the Earl of *Marlborough* with his own Regiment of Fuſiliers; Brigadier *Trelawny's*, Princeſs *Ann's*, Colonel *Haſtings's*, Colonel *Hales's*, Sir *David Collier's*, Colonel *Fitz-Patrick's*, one hundred of the Duke of *Bolton's*, and two hundred of the Earl of *Monmouth's*, with my Lord *Torrington's* and Lord *Pembrook's* Marine Regiments.

Earl of *Marlborough* ſent into *Ireland*.

September the 22d. my Lord *Marlborough* landed ſome Men in Boats near *Cork*, where they beat the Enemy from a Battery that diſturbed our Ships, and forced the *Iriſh* to leave their Guns behind them. An Expreſs was ſent to Major-General *Scravemore*, then on his march with a Body of Horſe; and, after that, another to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, who both in a few Days joyned my Lord *Marlborough* with about fifteen hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot. The Town of *Cork* held out till the 28th. being five Days, and then the Garriſon, about four thouſand five hundred, ſubmitted to be all Priſoners of War; amongſt whom were the Earls of *Clencarty* and *Tyrone*; Colonel *Mackellicut* the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ricat*, &c. The Duke of *Graſton* received a mortal Wound

Cork ſurrendred to him.


CORK
CITY
Marsh

Wound in our laſt approach, of which he died in few Days. Then my Lord *Marlborough*, firſt ſending Brigadier *Villers* with a Party of Horſe to Inveſt *Kinſale*, he marched himſelf with his Army, on the Second of *October*, encamping near the new Fort, (the Town being deſerted by the *Iriſh*.) And next Morning early, Major-General *Tetteau*, with 800 Men, paſſed the River in Boats, and ſtormed the old Fort, (formerly called *Caſtle nigh Park*,) wherein were about four hundred and fifty, nigh half of whom were killed and blown up, and the reſt ſubmitting at diſcretion, were made Priſoners. Then his Lordſhip ſent a Summons to the new Fort, which refuſing to yield, our Guns were planted in two places; the *Danes* on the left, and the *Engliſh* on the right. On the 5th of *October* the Trenches were opened, and the Fort held out till the fifteenth, when two Mines being ſprung, and our Galleries ready to lay over the Ditch, the Enemy beat a Parley; and the Garriſon (being about 1200) had liberty to march out, with their Arms and Baggage, having a Party of Horſe to conduct them to *Limerick*. In this Fort we found a very conſiderable Magazine, and great plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions: We had about 200 Men killed and wounded in our ſeveral Attacks, but a greater number ſick, by reaſon of cold and bad Weather. However, the gaining thoſe two Places, of *Cork* and *Kinſale*, was a piece of good ſervice, and rendred the work of the ſucceeding Campaign much more eaſie. This ſome have look'd upon as one of the greateſt blemiſhes in the *French* Politicks, that they ſhould neglect the Fortifying of *Kinſale*, one of the beſt and ſecureſt Harbours in the World; and, by keeping of which, they might have ruined our Weſtern Trade eſpecially, and yet endeavour to Fortifie *Limerick*, an Inland Town, of no uſe to them. All that can be ſaid in this is, That they were once ſo good natur'd, as to comply with the *Iriſh* Intereſt, and neglect their own.

September, 1690.

Kinſale beſieged,

and ſurrendred.

After

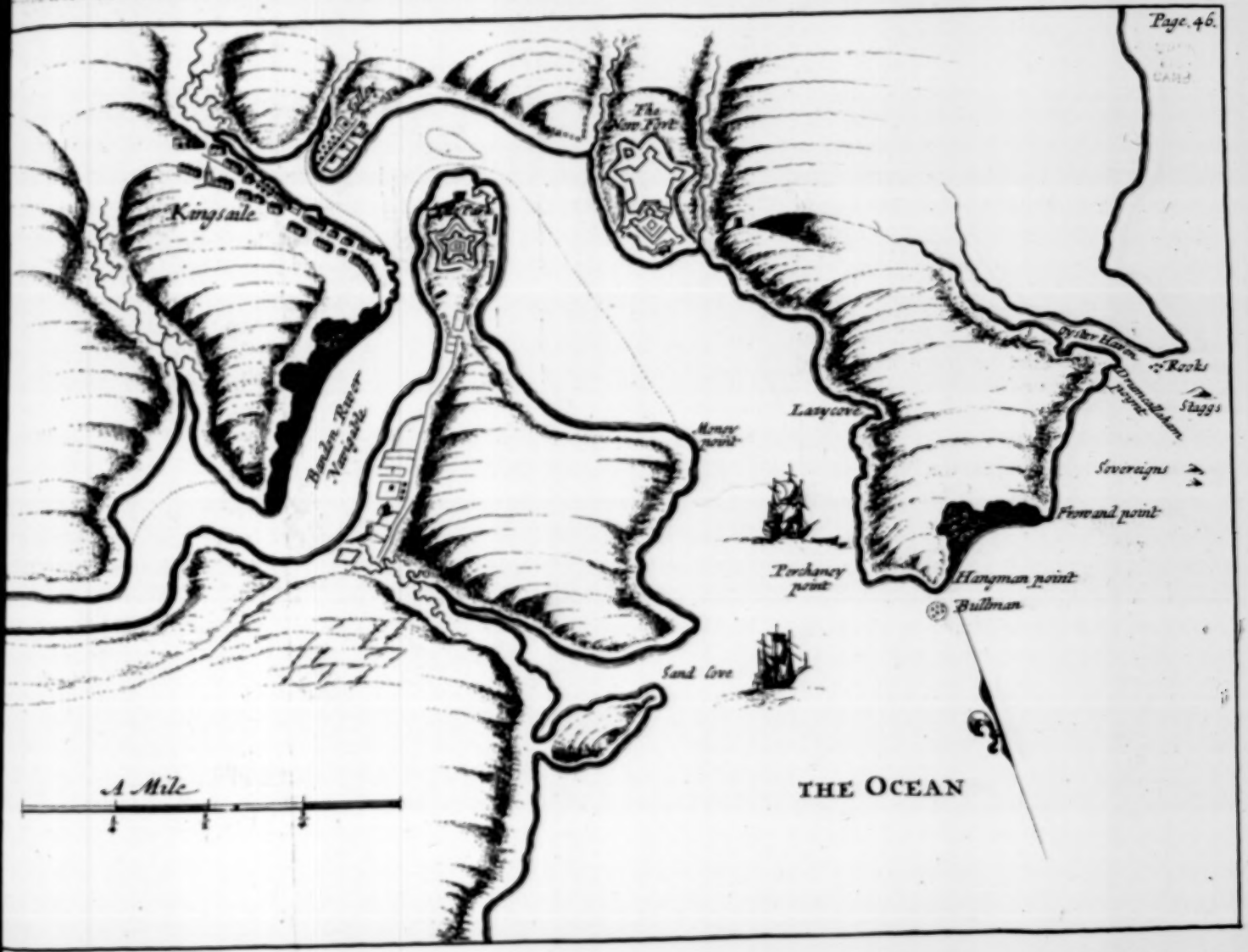
October, 1690.

After the taking of those two Towns, the *Irish* that lay in the County of *Kerry* made several Incursions, and burnt some small Villages in the County of *Cork*: and near the same time, another Party burnt *Balliboy*, a Village 8 miles from *Birr*, wherein there was then six Companies of the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment, who finding themselves very much outnumbred, and the Village no ways Tenible, they retired all to a Mount nigh the middle of the same Village, which they defended till the *Irish* were obliged to quit the place, have killed us about 28, themselves leaving 16 dead upon the Streets, besides several more that were killed in Plundering the Houses. And several such Accidents hapned up and down the Kingdom, most of which are already related in the former part of this History.

The *Irish* make some attempts upon our Quarters.

But if I am not much mistaken, it was our Interest when we raised the Siege of *Limerick*, to secure most of the other Passes upon the *Shannon*; which had been no very difficult Task, before our Army was dispersed; there being a great many places very near the *Shannon*, more tenible than those we retired to seek further into the Country; which made the Line much longer, and consequently not so easily defended; besides a plentiful Country that would have been then in our Quarters, and the benefit of making Inroads into *Connaught* when we pleased. But instead of that, we left the Enemy all the Forts and Passes upon the *Shannon*; by which means they could not be kept in their own Province, tho' they could keep us out. But since this was either wilfully overseen, or else neglected by some Great Officers Commanding in those parts at first, the Government thought fit afterwards to Order, That all who expected Protection from them, should come within the places of *Castlehaven*, *Mackroomp*, *Mallow*, *Ballyhooly*, *Fermoy-Bridge*, *Caperquin*, *Cahir*, *Goulden-Bridge*, *Cashell*, *Thurles*, *Roscreagh*, *Birr*, *Mullingar*, *Longford*, *Castleforbus*, *Finuah*, *Cavan*, *Belturbet*, *Inniskillin*,

Our Frontier Line.


Page. 46.
The New Fort
Kingsaile
Bandon River Navigable
Monoy point
Lazycove
Oyster Haven
Rooks
Drumcallaham point
Staggs
Sovereigns
Frowand point
Perchaney point
Hangman point
Bullman
Sand Cove
A Mile
THE OCEAN

lin, *Ballick*, and *Ballyſhannon*, thoſe being appointed our Frontier Garriſons; all without which places was reckoned beyond the Line, and in the Enemies Quarters. *December*, 1690.

Towards the beginning of *December*, his Majeſty, for the better ordering the Affairs of that Kingdom, appointed a Privy-Council, and gave out new Commiſſions to ſupply the places of ſeveral Judges, as yet awanting in the reſpective Courts of Judicature. A Privy-Council appointed in *Ireland*.

But though the *Iriſh* in and about *Limerick*, and indeed in moſt other places within their Line, were reduced to great neceſſities, both as to Proviſions and Cloaths; yet this did not prevent them from having a very good opinion of themſelves, nor blunt the Edge of that Vain-glorious Boaſting, ſo peculiar to that ſort of People, as may appear by a pretended Declaration of the then Brigadeer '*Dorington*'s, who after ſeveral invective Expreſſions againſt 'his Majeſty and the Engliſh Government, and Wheedling 'Inſinuations to all Foreigners and others, who he pre-'tends were drawn in at unawares, he promiſes to protect, 'and receive into Pay all Officers or Souldiers that would 'forſake their Majeſties Service, and advance them accor-'ding to their Merit; or thoſe that had no mind to ſerve, 'ſhould be Tranſported into *France*, having all neceſſary 'Accommodation, and be provided for in the mean time. 'Dated at *Limerick* the 13*th*. of *December*, 1690. and 'Signed *W. Dorington*.

But this worthy Declaration had no other effect than to ſhew the folly and vanity of the Publiſher; only I cannot but obſerve what a ſcurvy Return thoſe Officers and Souldiers of King *William*'s, to whom he addreſſes himſelf, made him for his kind proffer; ſince inſtead of going to him for his Paſs into *France*, they ſoon after ſent his Worſhip himſelf Priſoner into *England*.

Monday the 15*th*. of *December*, *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney* being appointed one of the Secretaries of State for *England*, My Lord *Sidney* goes for *England*.

December, 1690. *England*, ſet Sail for that Kingdom: And on the 24*th* Sir *Charles Porter*, another of the Lords-Juſtices, came from thence, being Sworn Lord Chancellour of *Ireland* on the 29*th*. and then received the Purſe and Great Seal from the late Commiſſioners.

Part of our Forces move towards the Shannon.

We had now a part of our Army on their March towards *Lanesborough* Paſs, Commanded by Major General *Kirk* and Sir *John Lanier*: Lieutenant General *Douglas* was alſo upon his March towards *Sligoe*, as was Major General *Tetteau* in *Munſter*, towards the County of *Kerry*: The firſt Detachment beat the *Iriſh* from their Works on this ſide the River; and ſtaying there ſome time, returned to Quarters, as did alſo Lieutenant General *Douglas*. Major General *Tetteau* Marched towards *Roſs*, taking a Fort called *Screnelarld*, in his way; after which the *Iriſh* ſet moſt of the Country on Fire, and retreated: He took alſo another Fort, wherein were 80 of the *Iriſh*, who being attacked by fifty *Danes*, and fifty of the *Kinſale* Militia, our Men carried the place, and put moſt of the Enemy to the Sword. Then our Party Marched towards *Tralee*, where Lieutenant General *Sheldon* had been with 21 Troops of Dragoons and 7 of Horſe, but with his Men had deſerted the Town, and made what haſte they could towards *Limerick*, reſolving to force their way through Lieutenant General *Ginckel*'s Troops, (who then was abroad alſo with a Party) if they were not very much ſtronger, or otherways to kill all their Horſes and ſave themſelves, by croſſing the *Shannon* in Boats: But not being informed of this, our Men returned without ſecuring a conſiderable quantity of Proviſions then in *Trallee*, which the *Iriſh* got afterwards to ſupply the Garriſon of *Limerick*.

Rapparees in the Bogg of *Allen*.

The Rapparees by this time were got to the end of the Bogg of *Allen*, within 12 miles of *Dublin*, and there Robb'd and Plunder'd the Country all about, Fortifying an Iſland in the Bogg to ſecure their Prey, which being

ſo

ſo nigh *Dublin*, it made a great noiſe: So that Collonel *Foulks* with his own Regiment, part of Collonel *Cutts's*, and a Detachment of the *Dublin* Militia, as alſo three ſmall Field-Pieces, Marched out towards them: The *Iriſh* at firſt ſeemed to defend the place; but as our Men advanced, they quitted their Poſts, leaving us to fill up the Trenches they had made croſs the Cauſeway; which done, Colonel *Foulks* Marched over into the Iſland of *Allen*, where he met with Colonel *Piper*, who had come in at the other ſide; but the *Iriſh* betook themſelves to the Woods, and we only got ſome ſmall Booty which they had left. *December* 1690.

I have heard, that my Lord *Baltimore* at his coming over from *Ireland* in King *James* the Firſt's time, to give his Majeſty an account of the State of that Kingdom, amongſt otherthings, told the King, *That the Iriſh were a wicked People, but had been as wickedly dealt withal.* I make no Applications of the Expreſſion to our ſelves, tho' moſt people that have been in that Country know how to do it.

But as to any publick Action, little of moment hapned, for ſome time after we returned to our Winter Quarters, tho' the Rapparees, being encouraged by our withdrawing, were very troubleſome all the Country over: nor will it be amiſs, once for all, to give you a brief Account how the *Iriſh* managed this Affair, to make the Rapparees ſo Conſiderable as they really were; doing much more miſchief at this time o'th' year, than any thing that had the face of an Army could pretend to. When the *Iriſh* underſtood therefore how our Men were Poſted all along the Line, and what advantage might be hoped for at ſuch and ſuch places, they not only encouraged all the protected *Iriſh* to do us ſecretly all the miſchief they could, either by concealed Arms, or private Intelligence, under the pretence of their being Plundered and abuſed; but they let looſe a great part of their Army to manage the beſt for themſelves, that time and opportunity would allow them: to all theſe they

Upon what account the Rapparees were ſerviceable to the *Iriſh*.

December, 1690. gave *Paſſes*, ſignifying to what Regiment they belonged, that in caſe they were taken, they might not be deal withal as *Rapparees*, but Souldiers. Theſe Men knew the Country, nay, all the ſecret Corners, Woods and Boggs; keeping a conſtant Correſpondence with one another, and alſo with the Army, who furniſhed them with all neceſſaries, eſpecially Ammunition: When they had any Project on Foot, their method was not to appear in a Body, for then they would have been diſcovered; and not only ſo, but Carriages and ſeveral other things had been wanting, which every one knows that's acquainted with this Trade: Their way was therefore, to make a private appointment to meet at ſuch a Paſs or Wood, preciſely at ſuch a time o'th' night or day as it ſtood with their convenience; and tho' you could not ſee a Man over night, yet exactly at their hour, you might find three or four hundred, more or leſs, as they had occaſion, all well Armed, and ready for what deſign they had formerly projected; but if they hapned to be diſcovered, or over-powered, they preſently diſperſed, having before-hand appointed another place of Rendezous, ten or twelve miles (it may be) from the place they then were at; by which means our Men could never fix any cloſe Engagement upon them during the Winter; ſo that if they could have held out another year, the *Rapparees* would have continued ſtill very prejudicial to our Army, as well by killing our Men privately, as ſtealing our Horſes, and intercepting our Proviſions. But after all, leaſt the next Age may not be of the ſame humour with this, and the name of a *Rapparees* may poſſibly be thought a finer thing than it really is, I do aſſure you, that in my Stile they never can be reputed other than Tories, Robbers, Thieves, and Bogg-trotters.

The Inſolence of thoſe People however, in the Bogg of *Allen*, was curbed by Colonel *Foulks* and Colonel Piper, before their return, who killed one *Gibney* a Captain, and

ſeveral

ſeveral others: About which time, the King diſpoſed of all the vacant Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, void in *Ireland* ſince the death of King *Charles* the Second. *January*, 1691.

On the 14th. of *January*, about ſixty of the Garriſon of *Caſtle-Forbes*, in the County of *Longford*, with ſome of the Militia, paſſed the River *Shannon*, and burnt ſeveral places on the other ſide, bringing off a good Booty, without any loſs. A Party of ours march beyond the *Shannon*. And ſeventeen Tranſport Ships, with two Men of War, were ordered from the Bay of *Dublin* towards *Kinſale*, to carry the Earl of *Marlborough*'s and Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*'s Regiments into *Flanders*, together with the Priſoners taken at *Cork* and *Kinſale*; theſe having joyned ſome other Veſſels, ſuffered much in their Voyage to *Flanders*, by reaſon of bad Weather, and ſome of them forced upon the Coaſt of *England*, one or two Ships being loſt. And nigh the ſame time the *Dover* Frigat brought into *Kinſale*, a *French* Privateer of 22 Guns, and 10 Pettereroes, belonging to St. *Maloes*. Several Priſoners are now taken in ſcampering Parties, and ſome Deſerters come in, who all give an account of the extraordinary ſcarcity of Proviſions and other Neceſſaries amongſt the *Iriſh*; tho' this was only true in part, for Priſoners will ſtretch to gain favour, and Deſerters are commonly prejudiced; ſo that they make things as they would have it, or ſpeak by hear-ſay, few of them telling any thing of their own knowledge; for before a Man deſerts any ſide, he commonly converſes with thoſe that are moſt diſaffected, and conſequently leaſt truſted; he comes off partial however; ſo that no extraordinary ſtreſs is uſually to be laid upon ſuch Informations.

Nigh this time ſeveral Ships arriv'd at *Gallway* from *France*, and brought over my Lord *Tyrconnel*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, and Sir *Stephen Rice*, with about only 8000 *l.* in Money; which was a great diſappointment to the *Iriſh*, who had a ſmall diſtribution by way of Donative, but not as pay. My Lord *Tyrconnel* returns from *France*.

January, 1691. There came alſo ſome Soldiers-Coats and Caps, but ſuch ſorry ones, that the *Iriſh* themſelves could eaſily ſee in what eſteem their Maſter of *France* had them.

A Party of the *Iriſh* beſiege *Fermy*. A Party of the Militia of *Bandon* advance into the Enemies Quarters, and killing ſome few ſtraglers, brought off a good Prey, according to the cuſtom of the Country. But afterwards about 1500 of the Enemy paſs the *Black-Water*, near *Fermoy*, where there was ſome of the *Danes* poſted in a Fort, which the *Iriſh* pretended to Attack; upon their near approach our Men fired, and the *Iriſh* ſeemed reſolute for ſome time, but ſixteen of them being killed, with a *French* Officer, the reſt were preſently a little more calm; and then they made an attempt on the other ſide, on *Fermoy*-Bridge, but were beat back with two ſmall Field-Pieces, (which they had Intelligence were removed) and ſix of them killed at that place; but by this time part of Colonel *Donep*'s Horſe were come to *Caſtle Leons*, and fifty of them, with 30 Militia Dragoons, engaged a greater Number of the *Iriſh*, and killed ſixty, purſuing the reſt nigh two Miles, till they came towards their main Body, which was commanded by Brigadier *Carol*, who was obliged to retire without what he came for.

Richard Pyne, Eſquire, formerly one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, is now made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*. And, *Jan.* 26, ſome Recruits are ſent from *Dublin*, to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Kilmeague*, in the Iſle of *Allen*, and other places in the County of *Kildare*. And now, to ſatisfie both the Army and Country as much as could be, comes out a Proclamation; *That all Perſons who had given ſubſiſtence of Proviſions*, &c. *to the Army, ſhould receive ſatisfaction for the ſame according to the Rates made publick in the beginning of Winter. And that all Arrears of Pay due to Officers, or Soldiers, who died, were killed, or removed from Their Majeſties Service, ſhould be paid to their Relations.* In order to which, there were certain Commiſ-

ſioners

ſioners appointed, to ſtate the Accompts of the Army: *February*, 1691.
Theſe Commiſſioners were *William Robinſon*, *John Stone*, *Edward Corker*, *John South*, and *Edward Molineux*, Eſquires, who, ſome of them, here ſate every Day, for many Months together, upon this Affair.

Commiſſioners appointed to ſtate the Accompts of the Army.

Jan. 29. A Ship belonging to *Cheſter*-Water was caſt away in the Bay of *Dublin*; *Ball* the owner, and all the Paſſengers being loſt. The ſame Day upwards of 200 Priſoners were put on Board there, and ſent to *Cork*, with Orders to be tranſported to *Flanders*. A Detachment of the Garriſon of *Cork*, being two hundred Foot, and 300 Dragoons, march towards *Church*-Town and *Buttafant*, two of the Enemies Frontier-Towns in that County, where they had a Party of Horſe and Foot; but they withdrew at our approach, leaving the Places to be burnt by our Men, which was done accordingly.

The beginning of *February* a Party of the Army, with ſome of the Militia, march'd from *Clonmell*, within ten Miles of *Limerick*, meeting with little oppoſition; killed only about twelve ſtragling Rapparees, and burnt what Cabbins and other places of ſhelter for the *Iriſh* they met withal; returning with a prey of Cattle, and three or four Priſoners.

February the 4th. A Declaration was publiſhed at *Dublin* by Lieutenant-General *Ginckel*, ſetting forth, *That Their Majeſties had no deſign to Oppreſs their* Roman-Catholick *Subjects of this Kingdom, in either their Religion, or their Properties; but had given him Authority, to grant reaſonable Terms to all ſuch as would come in and ſubmit according to their Duty.* But this Declaration (as others before it of like nature) had not the wiſhed-for effect; ſince the *Iriſh* are generally of that Temper, as to think you are moſt afraid of them when beſt Terms are proferr'd: This made the *Iriſh* Peaſants value themſelves mightily upon King *William*'s firſt Declaration, after the Rout at the *Boyne*, who then

A Declaration from the General to the *Iriſh*.

February, 1691. then look'd upon themſelves to be the moſt conſiderable part of the *Iriſh* Nation, becauſe they had Terms proferr'd before the Great Ones.

A Proclamation, prohibiting the deſtroying Improvements.

The ſixth, a Proclamation was publiſhed by the Lords-Juſtices and Council, *prohibiting all Officers and Soldiers to plunder, or take away the Goods either of Proteſtants or Papiſts; nor cut down Improvements*, (as ſome unreaſonably went about;) *nor to take the Horſes and Cattle out of the Plough, or to exact and levy Money:* Of all which there had been frequent Complaints; and therefore the Soldiers were commanded to pay their Quarters with their Subſiſtence which was ordered them, and the Officers too, from the firſt of *January*.

Commiſſioners ſent over to build Ships in *Ireland*.

Nigh this time, *Francis Sheldon* and *John Green*, two that were Skilful in the Art of Building Ships, were both ſent over, in equal Commiſſion, by Authority of the Navy-Board in *England*, to build Ships for Their Majeſties Service at *Waterford* or *Wexford*; nigh which Places, and in the County of *Wickloe*, there is good ſtore of ſuitable Timber, and other Advantages for building Ships at eaſier Rates than in *England*; but what progreſs has been made herein, I am uncertain.

February the 8th. Colonel *Brewer* and Major *Boad*, with a Party of 150 Horſe, and 200 Foot, march'd from *Mullingar* towards *Meers-Court*, to Relieve that and ſome other Garriſons with Proviſions, and ſome Men; which having done, Colonel *Brewer* went with a Party towards *Ballymore*, to view the Poſture of the Enemy at that place; he met with a ſmall Party of them at a Paſs, a Mile on this ſide the Fort, whom he put to flight, and purſued to the Garriſon, nigh which he kill'd ſix or eight, and burnt the Houſe at the Paſs when he returned, bringing the Owner away Priſoner.

February the 10th. Sir *Richard Reynolds*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, came from *England* and ſate

as

as Judge in that Court, being afterwards ſworn of the Privy-Council. And nigh the ſame time we had an account, that conſiderable Numbers of Recruits, both for Horſe and Foot, lay ready at *Briſtol* to be ſhip'd for *Ireland*. The *Montague* and *Dover* Frigats bring into *Kinſale* a Privateer of St. *Maloes*, of 24 Guns and ſix Pettereroes. A Party of our Army, quartering at *Bally-Hooly* in the County of *Cork*, went into the Enemies Country and kill'd 25 Rapparees; and ſoon after Major *Kirk* kill'd 16 more, taking two Officers Priſoners; yet, for all this, the Enemy watched all opportunities of Advantage, killing our Men by ſurprize in a great many places; but eſpecially, keeping Correſpondence with the protected *Iriſh* in all corners of the Country, they ſtole away our Horſes ſometimes in the Night, and often at Noon-day, when our Men leaſt ſuſpected it; by which means they recruited their own Horſe conſiderably, and did us no ſmall diſ-ſervice; nor is it probable, unleſs they had made uſe of ſome ſuch ways, they could have brought any Body of Horſe into the Field, worth taking notice of, the ſucceeding Campaign, whereas we were ſenſible afterwards that their Horſe were once not contemptible. *February*, 1691.

The Iriſh ſteal away our Horſes to Recruit their own Army.

The 9th. two Officers and a Soldier deſert from *Limerick*, and come to *Caſhel*: And a Day or two afterwards about 100 Proteſtants are permitted to come away, who all agree, that the *Iriſh* were more diſſatisfied ſince my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s Landing than before, ſince the Money and Cloaths, brought them from *France*, were both in themſelves very contemptible; the one for quantity, and the other for quality.

We had alſo an Account that *Sarſfield* was made Earl of *Lucan*, and Lieutenant-General of the Army; *Dorington*, Major-General; and *Barker*, General of the Foot.

Sarſfield made Lord Lucan.

One

February, 1691. One *Langton* was Hanged at *Kilkenny* for endeavouring to ſeduce a Souldier of Count *Naſſau*'s Regiment and ſome others. And at *Birr*, the Rapparees killing one of Colonel *Hamilton*'s Souldiers, drew out his Guts, and mangled his Body after amoſt barbarous and unuſual manner. Several Ships arrive at *Waterford* with Meal, Bisket, Corn, and other Proviſions for their Majeſties uſe; and a great many Merchant Ships come to that and other Ports, with Victuals and other conveniencies, for the Army and Country.

A Party of the *Iriſh* burn *Edenderry*. On the 13*th*. about 400 of the *Iriſh* Army, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Conner*, came to *Edenderry*, and burnt greateſt part of it, killing 7 Men and a Woman, and had 11 of theirs kill'd by a Militia Troop then in Town, who were obliged to defend the ſtrongeſt Houſes; and the *Iriſh* returning by *Phillips-Town*, burnt *Bally Brittan*.

Judges appointed to go their ſeveral Circuits. And now the Civil Government begun to look with a better countenance than formerly; for *February* the 17*th*. the Judges were appointed for their ſeveral Circuits; (*viz*.) *Munſter* Circuit, Lord Chief Juſtice *Reynolds*, Mr. Juſtice *Cox*. *Leinſter* Circuit, Lord Chief Juſtice *Pyne*, Mr. Juſtice *Jefferſon*. North-Eaſt Circuit of *Ulſter*, Lord Chief Baron *Healy*, Mr. Juſtice *Lyndon*. North-Weſt Circuit, Mr. Baron *Eclyn*, Mr. Serjeant *Ryves*. Theſe all went their diſtricts accordingly, and found things much out of order in ſeveral places, by reaſon of the looſeneſs of the Times, and the general inclination of moſt people to a diſorderly way of living.

February 24*th*. a large *French* Pinck bound from *Bourdeaux* to *Connaught* with Wine, Brandy, Salt, *&c*. was driven by ſtreſs of Weather into *Arcklow*-Haven; the Men being made Priſoners, the Ship and Cargo were ſeized for their Majeſties uſe. And nigh this time we heard, that the Duke of *Berwick*, and ſome other great Officers of the *Iriſh* Army, were gone off from *Limerick* to *France*, being

The Duke of *Berwick* and others of the *Iriſh* Army, go for *France*.

being diſcontented, as 'twas ſaid, at my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s way of Proceeding in the Government. *February*, 1691.

The 25*th*. Lieutenant Colonel *Lillingſton* went from *Roſcreagh* with a Party, to *Monogall*, where he ſurpriſed a Company of Colonel *Oxburrough*'s Regiment, and ſeveral Rapparees, kill'd 35 and took 5 Priſoners, with one *O Conner*, who Commanded.

The 26*th*. in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Ginckel* and Sir *John Lanier*, having drawn a conſiderable Body both of Horſe and Foot together, they advanced from *Streams-Town* towards *Athlone*. The Enemy never wanted Intelligence of our Motions, by reaſon of their Friends always amongſt us; and therefore as we approached, we found a Body of Horſe and Foot, to the number of about 2300, Commanded by Brigadeer *Clifford*, drawn on at a Paſs 4 miles from *Streams-Town*; the place it ſelf was of great advantage, its natural ſituation being improved by Art: but as ſoon as a Party of ours, under Captain *Pepper* of Colonel *Earl*'s Regiment, advanced on the other ſide, the *Iriſh* quitted the Paſs, being followed by our Horſe and Dragoons towards the Mote of *Greenoge*, where a greater Body of their Army was Poſted upon the ſide of an Hill; and thoſe alſo upon ſeeing what happened, retired into the Town; at the entrance of which, there was a very defenſible Ditch, with a Palliſado'd Work, which the *Iriſh* quitted, and March'd towards *Athlone*; our Advance Party being 10 of my Lord of *Oxford*'s Horſe, 12 of Sir *John Lanier*'s, Commanded by Cornet *Liſle*, and ſuſtained by Lieutenant *Monk*'s Dragoons, (thoſe were four choice Men out of a Company in Major General *Kirk*'s Regiment, mounted on Horſe-back, and Commanded by Lieutenant *Monk*, who always did Dragoon ſervice,) and a Party of Colonel *St. John*'s Foot, under Captain *Worth*, and all Com-

The *Iriſh* defeated at the Mote of *Greenoge*.

February, 1691. manded by Colonel *Woolſey*: thoſe overtook the Enemies Foot before they were got out of Town, very ſoon obliging them to diſperſe into the Woods and Boggs, ſeveral being killed; and whilſt this was adoing, our Advance Party of Horſe followed the Enemies Horſe ſo faſt upon the great Road that leads towards *Athlone*, that our Body of Horſe behind could not come up, though they endeavour'd it by marching very hard: A great many of the *Iriſh* fearing to be overtaken, quit their Horſes, Boots and Arms, making what haſte they could to their uſual ſhift, the Woods and Boggs; and thus it continued for ſix miles, till they were got near *Athlone*. They loſt all their Equipage and Baggage, with a great many Horſes and Arms, and had about two Hundred kill'd. We loſt only one Trumpeter, and had four men more Wounded.

Two Hundred Kill'd.

Major General *Kirk* ſtayed behind and took *Cairn* Caſtle; and the General at his return, took *Caſtle-Conway*, in ſome few days diſperſing his Men to their reſpective Quarters.

March, 1691. The 28*th*. ſeveral Rapparees were killed and hanged by the Militia near *Montrath*, they being uſually more ſevere upon thoſe ſort of People than the Army was.

Some Deſerters come in and encouraged by the General.

March the 7*th*. a Cornet, two Quarter-maſters, and ſome other Deſerters, came from the Enemy to *Dublin*, where the General then was, and received them very kindly, allowing them ſubſiſtence, to encourage others to follow their examples. Several Ships arrive at *Cork*, *Waterford*, *Kinſale*, and *Dublin*, with Proviſions and other neceſſaries for the Army; and the Militia kill ſome Rapparees, and bring in their Heads; a Cuſtom in that Country, and encouraged by a Law, which allows ſo much for every Head, according to the Quality of the Offender; though the uſual way is by Proclamation from the

the Government, wherein the Offender and his Price are named. *March*, 1691.

Nigh this time three of the *Daniſh* Soldiers deſerting, upon Major-General *Dorington*'s Declaration, or what other Inducements I know not; but they were met upon the Road, between *Limerick* and *Caſhel*, by four others that had belonged to the *Iriſh* Army, and now deſerting to us; theſe very fairly ſet upon the *Danes*, took them Priſoners, and brought them back to *Caſhel*, where they were afterwards hanged.

A Party of Colonel *Villers*'s, and ſome *Daniſh* Horſe, march from *Tallow* within the Enemies Frontiers, kill two, and take ſome few Priſoners. And Colonel *Blunt*, High-Sheriff of the County of *Tipperary*, with his Militia Troop of Dragoons, a *Daniſh* Troop of Horſe, and others, to the Number of 200, went from *Clonmel* as far as *Mitchels-Town*, nigh twenty Miles within the Enemies Quarters; in which Expedition they kill'd forty ſeven Rapparees, took thirteen Priſoners, and burnt ſeveral Cabbins where they uſed to ſhelter.

Captain *Palliſer*, of the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment, went with a Party from *Carolante* towards *Portumna*, where he ſurprized ſome of my Lord *Galmoy*'s Horſe, and took ſeveral Priſoners; as alſo good ſtore of rich Plunder, with Arms, Cloaths, and ſeveral other things of value.

Cornet *Ruſſel* and one *Croſton*, come from the Enemies Quarters, and give an Account, that *Balderock O Donnel* had got ſeveral Men together again, but wanting Arms and other Accoutrements they begun to deſert: And we alſo heard that Judge *Daily* was ſecured, for being ſuſpected to endeavour the delivering up of *Gallway* to our Forces: And that Proviſions and Forrage were very ſcarce in *Connaught*.

March, 1691.

A Proclamation to encourage the Importing of Arms.

The Lords-Juſtices, and Councel, to encourage the bringing of Arms and Ammunition into *Ireland* by Merchants and others, they ſet out a Proclamation, declaring that they ſhall be Duty-free; purſuant to which, Her Majeſty made an Order of Council in *England*, dated *March* the 3d. *That no Duty ſhall be hereafter demanded, or payable in* Ireland, *for any Arms which ſhall be carryed to ſuch parts of that Kingdom as are, or ſhall be at the time of Importation, under Their Majeſties Obedience; provided that the Parties exporting Arms from any other parts of Their Majeſties Dominions, do enter into ſufficient Bonds for landing the ſame in ſuch Parts of* Ireland *as aforeſaid, and no others.*

Several Rapparees kill'd in the County of *Longford.*

The Rapparees at this time were very troubleſom nigh *Fox-Hall*, in the County of *Longford*, till Lieutenant-Colonel *Toby Purcel*, at three ſeveral times, kill'd about one hundred of them; in the laſt of which they kill'd fifty two; and, returning towards Quarters, they were way-laid by the greateſt part of Sir *Donold O Neal*'s Dragoons: Our Party were thirty five Dragoons, and one hundred and forty Foot; one Quarter-maſter *Topham* being, with nine Dragoons, commanded as an Advance-Party to view the Enemy, as ſoon as diſcovered by us, and ſeeing them in a confuſion at his appearing, he charged their Front; who, running away, made all the reſt of the ſame humour, every one endeavouring to get firſt to their Garriſon at *New-Caſtle*, three were kill'd, and one *Dillan* with four more taken Priſoners. This Party (its ſaid) was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Barnwell:* Upon this Defeat one *Mack-Guire* comes from the County of *Longford*, with ſeveral hundreds of the *Creights*, and moſt of the Stock that was left them; for which, and themſelves, they obtained Protections.

About

About the 10th of *March* we had an Account by ſome Proteſtants, that came out of *Connaught*, that the *Iriſh* a little after my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s landing, being out of humour with the Braſs Money, little or nothing being to be had for it, they cry'd it down by Proclamation, the Crown piece to three Pence, the Half-crown to three half-Pence, the Shilling to a Penny, and the Six pence to an half-penny. After which the Soldiers lived upon free quarters: Proviſions alſo being ſcarce, and no Markets, for want of Money, thoſe Parts begun to be under worſe Circumſtances every Day. *March*, 1691. The *Iriſh* cry down their Braſs Money.

We had Notice from *Tallough*, that *Sarsfield* had Rendezvous'd part of his Army, and ſome of the *Iriſh* Militia, at *Knockhany*, and that he had detached ten Men out of a Company, and as many out of each Troop, to Attack the Paſs at *Fermoy*, and beat up our Quarters at *Tallough* and thereabouts; upon which a Party was detached from *Toughall* to ſtrengthen that place, but *Sarsfield* only viewed his Men, and pick'd out the moſt ſerviceable of the Militia to ſerve in the Army.

Nigh this time one *Lonan*, a troubleſom Fellow, was hanged at *Killkenny* for Seditious words. And on the 14th. a Party of Colonel *Byerly*'s Regiment, with ſome of the Militia, overtook a Party of Rapparees that were ſtealing away the Cattle near *Montrath*, killing ſix, and took two, who were hanged next Morning. The 17th. a Party of the *Iriſh* Army beſieged *Ballynagooly*, a Frontier Garriſon of ours in the County of *Cork*, but were beat off with the death of five of their Men, and ſeven left Priſoners. *Ballynagooly* attack'd by the *Iriſh*.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Lillingſton*, having the Command of a Party of three hundred Foot, and ſome Horſe, detach'd from *Birr*, *Roſcreagh*, and the neighbouring Garriſons, he march'd towards *Nenagh*, in the County of *Tipperary*, where there *Nenagh* burnt by a Party of our Men.

March, 1691. there is a ſtrong Caſtle, belonging to the Duke of *Ormond*: Long *Anthony Caroll* was Governor of this Place, having with him about one hundred Men; but in the places adjacent there lived a great many Tories and Rapparees, whom *Caroll* could upon any alarm bring together, to the Number of at leaſt two thouſand. He now had notice of our Party's approach, and laid an Ambuſcade for them; which being diſcovered, his Men drew homewards, and we followed them into Town, which we burnt, but the Caſtle was not to be attack'd without Cannon; for tho' it was taken by Lieutenant-General *Ginckel*, and a Garriſon put into it during the former Siege of *Limerick*, yet, upon our Army's drawing off, part of the Houſe within was burnt, and ſo quitted by our Party; which was no ſooner done, but the *Iriſh* put a Garriſon in it, by which they kept great part of a very good Country in their poſſeſſion: But ſeeing our Men could not Attack the Caſtle, they took a good prey of Cattle; in getting of which, and burning the Town, they kill'd about ſixty Men; amongſt whom was one *Caroll* an Officer, and a Man of great Bravery: We loſt only three Men in this Expedition.

A Party of Horſe and Foot went alſo about this time from *Mountmelick*, to ſome adjoyning Woods, where they underſtood a Body of Rapparees were got together, we kill'd that Day twelve, and the next Day ſix, taking a Lieutenant of their Army Priſoner. Six of Colonel *Lutterel*'s Dragoons deſert the Enemy; and ſixteen Rapparees were hanged at *Clonmel*, and four were killed as they were making towards a greater Party of the Enemy.

Twenty ſeven Rapparees kill'd, and thirteen taken Priſoners near *Caperquin*.

Twelve Troopers, and about thirty Foot, went from *Caperquin* towards *A Glyn*, where they had Information that forty Rapparees were lodged, but they proved a much greater

greater Number than was expected, and obliged our Horſe to ſhift for themſelves; which a Trumpeter ſeeing, who was upon a little Hill at a diſtance, he firſt ſounded a March, then a Charge, and gave a great Shout, as if ſome more Horſe were falling on; which took ſo well, that it frighted the Rapparees, and made them run towards the Wood, in which poſture, our Foot and Horſe falling upon them, kill'd twenty ſeven, and took thirteen Priſoners; three whereof were called Captains, but being known Rogues, they were all hanged. *March*, 1691.

March the 18*th*. a good Detachment was ſent from *Caſhel* towards *Emly*, in the County of *Limerick*, to meet with the Enemy, who were got into a Body thereabouts. As we came towards the place the Enemy retired, and had twelve killed in their going off. About this time, Colonel *Ruſſel*'s Regiment of Horſe (formerly my Lord *Delamere*'s) was broke at *Antrim*, and Colonel *White*'s Regiment of Foot, which were all the Forces that were broke this Year. Colonel *Tiffin* makes an Excurſion towards *Sligo*, and met with no formed Body of the Enemy, ſo that his Men had leiſure to take a good prey, and bring off ſeveral Families, who removed into our Quarters.

March 21. A detached Party of four hundred Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Major *Culliford*, march'd from *Cork* towards *Balycleugh*, where the Enemy were entrenching themſelves, but when they ſaw our Men acoming they deſerted their Works, and left ſeven of their Men to be made Priſoners, four of whom were Officers. Three hundred of Sir *David Collier*'s Men and Militia march from *Bandon* towards *Bantry*, where they kill'd nigh ſeventy Rapparees, and took fifteen Priſoners. Some Rapparees were taken between *Trim* and *Mullingar*. And a Party of the Militia, under Lieutenant *Powel*, were

March, 1691. were ſent from *Dublin* to bring in ſome Rogues, who were concern'd in the Murdering ſix of Colonel *Foulki's* Soldiers, but he and his Party were ſet upon by one *O Neal*, and twenty eight more, who by the management of Lieutenant *Powel* and his Party were moſt of them kill'd.

Mark Baggot taken as a Spy going into Dublin.

March the 28*th*. one *Mark Baggot*, formerly very well known in *Dublin*, and Serjeant at Arms in the late King's time, was taken coming diſguiſed in Womans Cloaths into that City; he was ſhortly after Tryed as a Spy, and Condemned; but Execution for ſome time was reſpited, in hopes of his doing ſervice to the Government by ſome material Diſcoveries.

One *Beecher*, a Gentleman in the County of *Cork*, ſeized upon an Iſland on that Coaſt, from whence he did much damage to the *Iriſh* thereabouts. And ſome conſiderable Men in *Killkenny*, were ſeized for holding Correſpondence with the Enemy. About this time Landed ſeveral Recruits at different Ports from *England*, with an Account of the *French* King's beſieging the City of *Mons*, which occaſioned various diſcourſes, according as people were inclined.

April, 1691. In the beginning of *April*, ſix Souldiers of the Garriſon of *Birr*, were barbarouſly Murdered by the Rapparees, as were others in ſeveral places, whenſoever they met with opportunities. A Spy was taken and Sentenced to be Hanged there, but brought from the Gallows, upon a diſcovery of ſeveral protected Papiſts holding Correſpondence with the Enemy. One Captain *Darby* of the *Leap*, habiting himſelf and ſome of the Militia, with a ſmall party of the Army, like Rapparees, they eaſily came up with about Eighty of the Enemy, who taking our men to be of their own Tribe, ten of them were killed, and the reſt made their eſcapes.

April

April the 9*th*. Brigadeer *Stuart* ſent fifty Fire-Locks and twenty Dragoons from *Belturbet*, to ſcoure the County of *Letrim*; towards *Mohill* they diſcovered two Troops of the Enemies Dragoons, and a Company of Foot, Guarding the Creights and their Cattle, whom they fell upon, killed thirty and took five Priſoners, with moſt of their Horſes, and what ſmall Baggage they had. And nigh the ſame time, thirteen Rapparees were Hanged at *Belturbet*, being Tryed by a Court-Martial. A Party of Lieutenant Colonel *Purcell*'s Garriſon, fell upon ſome of the *Iriſh* Dragoons in the County of *Longford*, and killed ſix of them, others being alſo drowned, who made more haſte than good ſpeed to paſs the River. Quarter-maſter *Topham* kills at one time ſix, and at another time ſeventeen Rapparees, and took nine Priſoners, moſt of which were Hanged. Colonel *Tiffin* ſends two Hundred Foot and a Hundred Dragoons, from *Bally-ſhannon* towards *Sligo*, who in their march killed Forty-two Rapparees, and took ten Priſoners, bringing off a good Prey at their return.

April, 1691.

A Party ſent by Brigadeer *Stuart* towards *Mohill*.

April the 11*th*. being the Anniverſary of their Majeſties Coronation, was obſerved with the uſual Solemnities. About five Hundred of the *Iriſh* came to attack *Clonakilty*, a Garriſon of ours in the County of *Cork*, but with no great difficulty were beaten off, having loſt only three Men in the Attempt. Next day they ſeem'd reſolved to do ſomething extraordinary; and Colonel *Mack Finnins*, Colonel *Macarty*'s, and two more Regiments, making in all about one Thouſand five Hundred, Commanded by Brigadier *Caroll*, came to *Iniſkean*, with a deſign to have that place, and ſome other ſmall Garriſons near it, as ſteps to further advancements. There were in *Iniſkean* only two Enſigns, with

The *Iriſh* make ſeveral attempts upon our Frontiers.

April, 1691. Forty-four Men, who defended the Streets of the Town for ſome time; but the *Iriſh* getting in at the back doors, and ſo firing the Town, our Men betook themſelves to an Houſe that ſeemed the beſt ſhelter the place could afford, and there they defended themſelves againſt all the Attempts of the *Iriſh*, tho' they were at laſt in hazard to have been burnt out, but that Lieutenant Colonel *Ogleby* came ſeaſonably from *Bandon* with a Hundred and fifty Horſe and Foot, which occaſioned the *Iriſh* to draw off; and being followed by our ſmall Party of Horſe in the retreat, and the action in Town, they loſt Seventy-two.

April the 14*th.* the Titular Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Father *Brobey*, and Father *Mooney*, were found hid in a Cave within a Mile of *Athy*, and ſent Priſoners to *Dublin*.

The 18*th.* a Proclamation was publiſhed, to promiſe 'a Reward for the Apprehending the murderers of ſome 'of Colonel *Foulks*'s Souldiers in the Church at *Mallahud-'dart*, fifty Pound being promiſed for one *Chriſtopher* '*Brown*, with a Ten Pound a piece for five more con-'cerned in the ſame Fact; with Pardon to any of them-'ſelves that would diſcover the reſt, ſome of whom were 'apprehended and Hanged afterwards.

They attempt *Macroomp.* *April* the 20*th.* a conſiderable Body of the *Iriſh* advanced towards *Macroomp*, another Garriſon of ours in the County of *Cork*, where they ſeemed now to preſs us moſt; but a Party of Eighty Horſe and three Hundred Dragoons of the Army and Militia, were ſent out under Major *Kirk* of Brigadeer *Villers*'s Regiment; theſe came within ſight of the Enemy by break of day, who being ſurpriſed at our unexpected approach, the *Iriſh* betook themſelves to the adjacent

jacent Boggs, in the purſuit of whom we killed twenty, and took an Officer, with four Souldiers Priſoners. *April*, 1691.

A Party of *Rapparees* coming near *Tallough*, ſteal away ſeveral Horſes, and four Men belonging to Colonel *Donep*'s Regiment of *Daniſh* Horſe. This being eaſily believed, could not be done without the knowledge of the Inhabitants in the adjacent Villages, the Colonel ordered ſeveral of them to be taken up, and threatned to Hang them all, unleſs the Horſes and Men were brought back by ſuch a day, which was accordingly done, and ſome of the Men that ſtole them delivered up. Col. *Donep*'s Project to recover his Men and Horſes.

The 24*th*. ſome Proviſions going to *Mullingar* under a ſlender Convoy, were ſeized by the *Rapparees* at *Kinegad*; but a Party of the Garriſon hearing of it, came time enough to kill four of them, and retrieve ſome of the Proviſions, though part of it was loſt, the Boggs lying at that place ſo very convenient.

Twenty-one *Rapparees* who lately went over the *Shannon*, were taken nigh *Belturbet*, by a Detachment from *Finnagh*; one *Duffee* and his Lieutenant Commanding this Party, had Commiſſions from *Balderock O Donnel*. And now our *Engliſh* Letters bring us an Account of his Majeſties ſafe Arrival at *White-Hall* on *April* the fourteenth.

Nigh this time his Majeſty was pleaſed to Create Count *Maynard* (ſecond Son to the laſt Duke of *Schonberg*) Duke of *Leinſter*, Earl of *Bangor*, and Baron of *Mullingar*; and there was a report, as if his Grace ſhould have then gone over into *Ireland* to Command the Army the ſucceeding Campaign. Count *Schonberg* Created Duke of *Leinſter*.

April, 1691.

Some Regiments come to encamp at *Mullingar*.

April 27. My Lord *Meath*'s and my Lord *Liſburn*'s Regiments came to *Mullingar*, (the place deſign'd for the Rendezvous of the Army) and encamp without the Town. They found a great many of the *Iriſh* that had made the beſt proviſion they could for themſelves and Families by the Ditch-ſides: For Colonel *Brewer*, ſometime before this, had commanded them all out of Town, upon his being informed of their Correſpondence with the Enemy. This occaſion'd them to build a great many Hutts all along the dry Ditches, which they make no difficulty in performing; for it's but bending down two or three Sticks with one end on the Ground, and the other on the top of the Ditch, and then a little Straw or long Graſs makes it a Cabbin in leſs that half an hour, for a Family of ten or a dozen, young and old, to creep into.

Several *Rapparees* kill'd by Colonel *Brewer*.

The ſame Day one *Brown* was executed as a Spie. And the 28th. Colonel *Brewer*, with Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, of my Lord *Meath*'s Regiment, went from *Mullingar* towards *Dunore*, with ſix hundred Foot and twenty Horſe; their Deſign was to ſurprize about two thouſand Rapparees that had hutted thereabout for ſome time: At break of Day next Morning our Party came within ſight of the Enemy; who took the Alarm, and began to draw up on ſeveral Hills in diſtinct Bodies, both of Horſe and Foot, and made a ſhew at firſt of advancing, in order to an Engagement; but they always retired to their Faſtneſſes, upon the near approach of any of our Men: However, the Party ſo ordered it as to kill nigh fifty, and burn their Hutts and Cabbins, returning without any loſs. The ſame Day the Governor of *Meers-Court* went towards *Ballymore*, and at Night took the Patrole

trole Priſoner, bringing off ſome of the Horſes belonging to that Garriſon: Fourteen Deſerters alſo came from the Enemy to *Mullingar*. And a crook-back'd Beggar was brought a little after to Colonel *Brewer* in a Sack; he had been formerly a Spie; and now, upon his detection, he accuſed ſeveral protected Papiſts thereabouts, for holding Correſpondence with the Enemy. The Dragoons, poſted at *Fox-Hall*, upon ſcouring the Country, kill ſix *Rapparees*, and three more were taken near *Tallough*. *April*, 1691.

Nigh this time Captain *Palliſer*, and one Lieutenant *Armſtrong*, went out with a Party of ſixty Fire-Locks from their Quarters near *Birr*; their Deſign was to ſurprize ſome of the *Iriſh*, and bring off a prey they were informed of; but being betray'd by one *Terence Mackgrah*, who had all along been protected, and pretended a particular Friendſhip to Captain *Palliſer*, our Men fell into an Ambuſcade, ordered for them by Long *Anthony Caroll*; and having freed themſelves of that, they found themſelves beſet on all ſides, ſo that they were forced to take into an old Caſtle; and, after being almoſt ſmothered in it with Smoak, they ſurrendered themſelves all Priſoners of War; Lieutenant *Armſtrong* paid Money to be releaſed, Captain *Palliſer* made his eſcape the beginning of *June* from *Limerick*, but the poor Men were kept Priſoners till *Limerick* was ſurrendred. Captain *Palliſer* and his Men taken Priſoners.

Fifteen *Rapparees* took the Northern-Male going from *Dublin*, at a place called *Moyery-Caſtle*, between *Dundalk* and *Newry*; ſix of which were ſome ſmall time afterwards apprehended and hanged for it.

April 29. A Party of one hundred and fifty Foot, commanded by Captain *Clayton*, were ſent to Relieve *Ballynagooly*; ſome diſtance from the place they eſpied A Party of the *Iriſh* beat off, who deſigned to intercept the Relief of *Ballynagooly*.

April, 1691. ed a Party of the Enemies Horſe, who did not care to meddle with them, becauſe they ſuppoſed them well provided with Ammunition; and about twelve at Night the Party reliev'd march'd out: It was no ſooner Day-light than they eſpied near three hundred of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons, and about the ſame Number of *Rapparees*, who had way-laid them, expecting they would bring but little Ammunition from the Garriſon; but Captain *Thornicroft*, Lieutenant *Hayes*, and the Enſign, with the Party, reſolved to make the beſt of it, and ſo drew their Men into an old Pound, Breaſt-high; which they had ſcarce done, till the Advance-Party of the Enemy came up and proferr'd them Quarter; which they refuſed, and fired upon them; then the *Iriſh* main Body advanced and made ſeveral very brisk Attacks, which our Men reſiſted ſtoutly, killing ſeveral, and wounding others, who were carry'd off. The Garriſon of *Cork* taking the Alarm, ſent out a Party to Relieve our Men, but the Enemy were march'd off before. The Enemy left Captain *Coppinger*, two more Captains, and ten Men dead, and Major *Slingsby* was left wounded, who confeſſed their Party carry'd off between fifty and ſixty kill'd and hurt; and withal, that it was a Judgment upon them, ſince they deſigned to promiſe fair Quarter, but afterwards to deſtroy our whole Party: We loſt eight Soldiers and two Carr-Men, and had five more wounded. This Party of the *Iriſh*, it's ſaid, was commanded by Brigadier *Caroll*, and Sir *James Cotter*.

Twenty three *Rapparees* hanged at *Belturbet*.

Near this time one Captain *Duffee*, his Lieutenant, and twenty one more *Rapparees* were hanged by Brigadier *Stuart*'s orders at *Belturbet*, and another as a Spie at *Cavan*. A Detachment of five hundred

dred Men, out of the Militia of the City and County of *Dublin*, joyning with Colonel *Piper*, march'd towards *Clanbullock*, where they expected to meet with a Body of the *Iriſh* Army and *Rapparees*; but theſe having Notice of our Deſign the Night before, they diſperſed to their ſeveral places of ſhelter, ſo that few of them were taken or kill'd. *April*, 1691.

April the 30th. being Her Majeſties Birth-Day, was obſerved with great Solemnity; and all Hands were then at work in order to the fitting every thing for the enſuing Campaign. Cloaths, Arms, Ammunition and Recruits arrived daily at *Dublin* from *England*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Thirty Rapparees *killed. Major* Wood *defeats a Party of the* Iriſh. *Several Skirmiſhes between the* Iriſh *and the Militia. One Captain* Johnſton *ſurprizes a Party of the* Iriſh *Army. The* Iriſh *take a Prey nigh the* Black-Water. *Some of our Sea-men and Militia joyn and march into the Enemies Quarters. Monſieur* St. Ruth *lands in* Ireland *to Command their Army.* Mark Baggot *hanged. Lieutenant-General* Douglas *encamps with a Party at* Ardagh. *Our Great Officers take the Field. The General goes to* Mullingar.

SEveral Ships arrive at *Kinſale* from *England*, and the *Charles* Galley and *Aſſurance* Frigat at *Waterford*, with four other Ships under their Convoy, all loaden with Cannon, Ball, Bombs, Powder, and ſeveral other Materials neceſſary for the Campaign.

Thirty *Rapparees* kill'd.

The Governor of *Clonmel*, and Colonel *Blunt*, went out with a Party of the Army and Militia towards *Michelſtown*; but not meeting with any of the Enemy, they were returning home, when ſome of the Men ſtragling behind, one *Caſhean*, a known Rogue, ſhot at a Corporal from behind a Buſh, which occaſion'd the Party to return and ſurround the Wood, in which they kill'd thirty.

To-

Towards the beginning of this Month, two hundred and fifty Foot and a ſmall Party of Horſe, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Hudſon* and Major *Wood*, went from *Montmelick*, and poſted themſelves amongſt the Woods and Bogs towards *Portarlington:* At break of Day the Foot entred and ſcoured the Thickets, whilſt the Horſe ſecured the adjoyning Paſſes; by which means they kill'd eighteen, and took an Enſign, one *Moor*, with a Sergeant and ſix Men Priſoners; they took alſo one of the Guards, and one *O Rourk*, who had formerly ſtole ſeveral of the *Dutch* Horſes at *Munſter Evan.* *May*, 1691.

Major *Wood* defeats a Body of the *Iriſh.*

May the 1ſt. Major *Wood* having Notice that the *Rapparees* were in great Bodies about *Brittas* in the *Queen's* County, he went out with three hundred of my Lord *George Hamilton's*, and Colonel *Lloyd's* Foot, and fifty of Colonel *Byerly's* Horſe, with which he firſt kill'd nigh ſeventy *Rapparees*; and leaving part of his Men to ſecure ſeveral Paſſes, he went three Miles further, beyond a place called *The Tougher* of *Malahoue*, having with him one hundred and ten Foot, and thirty Horſe; but inſtead of the *Rapparees*, whom he only expected, he eſpied two Bodies of the *Iriſh* Army, ſaid to be near eight hundred in Number: Thoſe he encountred, and after ſeveral Charges at different places, he put them to the Rout, killing one hundred and fifty on the place; amongſt whom were one Captain *Schales*, and two Lieutenants; he took Major *John Fitz-Patrick* Priſoner, who commanded the Party, and ſeventeen Officers more, with ſix Sergeants, ſixteen Corporals, two Drummers, and a Chirurgeon, and alſo eighty private Centinels. In all this Action we loſt but a Corporal and a Trooper, two Foot-Soldiers wounded, and Lieutenant *Robinſon.* This may

May, 1691. ſeem incredible to thoſe that are ſtrangers to this Country, but I ſhall in convenient time give you ſeveral Inſtances, both Ancient and Modern, which deſerve as much to be admired. And I can find no other reaſon for it, than that it's no eaſie matter to perſuade the *Iriſh* to fight whilſt there is a Bog or a Wood nigh them, tho' take them abroad and they make no contemptible Soldiers.

Captain *Johnſton* ſurprizes ſome of the *Iriſh* Army.

Nigh this time Captain *Johnſton*, of my Lord *George Hamilton*'s Regiment, went with one hundred Men from *Tyril*'s Paſs to *Ballimona* in the *King*'s County, and towards break of Day he ſurprized two Troops of *Clifford*'s Dragoons, and a Party of my Lord *Merion*'s Horſe, with ſome Foot, killing a Lieutenant, a Quarter-maſter and fifteen Dragoons; took Priſoners, two Enſigns, ſix Dragoons, one Trooper, and two Foot-Soldiers, burnt the Town, with the Furniture of what Dragoons were there quarter'd, bringing off twelve Horſes, with ſome Cows, and ſpare Arms, without any loſs on our ſide.

A Party of Colonel *Brewer*'s Men being abroad, and ſome of them ſtragling between *Mullingar* and *Kinegad*, three were kill'd, and the fourth had his Eyes put out, being uſed by the *Rapparees* after a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; but three *Rapparees* being taken, and two of them hang'd, one *Hill*, the third, guided a Party of one hundred and ten Men, commanded by Captain *Poynes*, to a place within ſix Miles of *Mullingar*, where the *Rapparees* lodged that Night; our Men fell upon them, and killing about forty, they got good ſtore of rich Plunder.

Some more *Rapparees* were about this time hanged at *Belturbet*: And one Mr. *Woodward*, with a Party, kills twenty nigh *Kells* that were ſtealing away his Cat-

Cattle. Lieutenant *Scbales*, with a ſmall Party of Sir *John Lanier*'s Horſe, and Major General *Kirk*'s Foot, kill'd eleven *Rapparees* near *Wyands-Town*, and ſent their Heads to *Dublin*. *May*, 1691.

May the 8th. The Duke of *Wirtenberg* came from his Quarters to *Dublin*; and five Ships loaden with Arms and Ammunition came into that Bay, by whom we underſtood of His Majeſty's departure from *England* a ſecond time, and ſafe arrival in *Holland*.

May the 9*th*. three *Iriſh* Preſs-maſters taken nigh *Macroomp*, were Hanged at *Cork*; and Lieutenant *Moore* goes with a Party nigh *Bantry*, where he killed five of the Enemy, and took ſome Cattle; one Cornet *Evanſon* kills four more; and another *Rapparee* being Condemned, had his Life ſaved for guiding Lieutenant *Crawford* to a Party of *Rapparees* nigh *Macroomp*, of whom ſeventeen were killed, one Hanged, and eleven taken Priſoners.

There was now a Garriſon of the Militia in *Caſtle-Haven*, one of thoſe Forts which the *Iriſh* delivered to the *Spaniards* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, famous for that Sea-Fight in the Haven, between Sir *Richard Leviſon* and *Don Pedro de Zubiaur*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where greateſt part of the *Spaniards* were ſunk or diſabled. From hence Colonel *Townſend* ſent a Party of his Men to ſcoure the Country; they met with a Party of *Rapparees*, and killed one *Regan* their Captain, with *Borg* his Lieutenant, and four more.

Nigh this time one hundred and fifty of the *Iriſh* Army, joyned with a Party of *Rapparees*, came over the *Black-water* and took a conſiderable Prey from our ſide. The *Iriſh* take a Prey nigh the *Black-water*.

May, 1691. side. Colonel *Donep* being not far off, gave the Alarm to the Country by firing a Cannon, and with a few *Danes* and a Party of the Militia, purſued the Enemy: A *Daniſh* Lieutenant and eight Men overtook them at a place called *Ballyderrawne*, and had ſo much Courage as to Engage in the Rear of nigh ſixty; but the Lieutenant being killed, the reſt retired, till Colonel *Donep* came up with Twenty-four *Danes* and Militia, theſe put the Enemy into ſome diſorder; and then being reinforced by a greater number of the Militia, they followed the Enemy beyond *Killworth*, and in the purſuit killed fifty, whereof four were Officers, (*viz.*) Captain *Butler*, Lieutenant *Condon*, another Lieutenant, and a Cornet, taking alſo forty Horſes, ſeveral Arms and Accoutrements, and recovered the Prey, with ſome more to make an addition to it.

May the 15*th.* a Party of the Militia of *Bandon*, took Captain *Hugh Donavan*, and ſix of *O Donavan's* Regiment Priſoners: And about forty *Rapparees* were ſurprized in a Wood in the Night as they ſat at Supper, by a Lieutenant and eight Men, who coming ſilently up to where they ſaw the Light, they fired amongſt them and killed four, the reſt diſperſing at the ſuddenneſs of the Accident; the Lieutenant and his Men got about twenty Horſes and other Booty.

One Major *O Neal* was ſent from *Athlone* to view the Fortifications at *Ballimore*; but inſtead of returning with an Account of the Place, he comes over to us: And one Mr. *Whittingham* makes his eſcape out of *Connaught*, giving an Account of ſeveral Murders committed by the *Rapparees*. Sir *Garret Ailmer* and

and ſome other Priſoners, taken at *Derry*, &c. were exchanged: And our Proviſions going to the Stores at *Mullingar*, are again attempted by a Party of *Rapparees*, upon the Common between that and *Kinegad*, which is eight miles, and a waſte Country, with Woods and Boggs on each ſide; but their deſign was fruſtrated by eight of Colonel *Brewer's* Men, though they killed a Suttler by a Random-Shot. *May*, 1691.

May the 18*th*. Lieutenant-General *Ginckel*, Commander in Chief of Their Majeſties Forces for the ſucceeding Campaign, goes to view the Town of *Mullingar*; and Proviſions and Ammunition were daily ſent thither, as alſo to *Belturbet*, for the ſupply of our Northern Forces: and more Recruits both of Horſe and Foot, with Ammunition and Souldiers Cloaths, arrive daily at *Dublin* from *England*.

The Bay of *Baltemore* in *Carberry*, in the Weſt of *Ireland*, is a ſafe place for Ships of any Burden to ride in, and was one of thoſe which the *Spaniards* much frequented in former times, being called by them *Valentimore*. The *Dragon* and *Advice* Frigats, being about the middle of *May* in this Bay, they Landed a hundred Seamen, who joyning ſome of the Militia, march'd up into the Country, and ſaw ſeveral Parties of the Enemy; but they not caring to Engage, our People took what Cattle and other Prey they had a mind to; and two days after the *Dragon* brought a Privateer of St. *Malo's* of eight Guns, called the *Swallow*, to *Kinſale*; the Commander of which gave the firſt certain Account, That ſeveral *French* Ships with Arms, Ammunition, Proviſions, and ſome Officers, were gone into the River *Shannon* towards

Some of our Seamen and Militia joyn, and march into the Enemies Quarters.

May, 1691. wards *Limerick*, on Board of which Ships was Monſieur St. *Ruth* and other *French* Officers ſent to Command the *Iriſh* Army. And near the ſame time, ſix of our Ships come to *Cork* with Recruits and Proviſions, under the Conduct of the *Smyrna* Frigat.

Monſieur St. *Ruth* Lands in *Ireland* to Command their Army.

A Party of three hundred Horſe and Dragoons, with two hundred of the Militia, went from *Cork* to relieve the Garriſon of *Ballynagooly*; after which they went to view *Bally Clough*, in the Enemies poſſeſſion, but upon our approach, they drew into their Works, ſo that our Men killed only five, and took as many Priſoners. Captain *Barry* of the Militia, kills ſix in a Wood at *Ballyhooly* beyond the *Black-water*; and the Militia of *Fermoy*, upon an Expedition, kill ten more, taking alſo eight Priſoners. One *Maurice Spulane*, a *Rapparee* Captain, was killed nigh *Caſtle-Haven*; and Quarter-maſter *Edwards* kills ſixteen nigh *Tipperary*; and Captain *Maſſey* eight more in the County of *Limerick*; and three were carried to *Clonmell* there to be hanged: four were taken in a Wood near *Dramoree*, as they were dividing ſome Money they had ſtole. So that on all ſides, though theſe Vermin were at work to do Miſchief, yet the Army, and indeed the Militia, were as active to ſuppreſs them. However, the White Serjeant, with one *Mackabe* and *Cavenagh*, were very troubleſome nigh *Kildare*. Thoſe were three Fellows all under the ſame Circumſtances, who running away from the *Iriſh* Army, they got ſmall Parties of Rogues together, and haunted the Bogg of *Allen*, and other places of the Country thereabouts, which were particularly well known to them, and by that means gave the Inhabitants no ſmall diſturbance. They were hunted by the Militia nigh this time, and three of the White Serjeant's

Serjeant's men Shot at one time, and two of *Mackabe's* at another; and ſoon after three more were killed near *Murney*. And our publick Accounts tell us of a hundred and ten *Rapparees* killed by Captain *Baggott's* Militia Dragoons ſince the beginning of this Month in ſeveral Parties. But *Cavenagh* and his Men being afraid to trade any more in the Bogg of *Allen*, they remove towards the Mountains of *Wicklow*, where Lieutenant *Cooly* met with them, and killing fifteen, took their Captain, upon which the reſt diſperſed, or joyned with *Mackabe* and the White Sergeant. *May*, 1691

May the 20th. *Mark Baggot*, formerly ſpoke of, being condemned and reprieved till now, was this Day hanged, having ſaid nothing to the purpoſe, but that our beſt places to paſs the *Shannon* were *Melick* and *Banober*. *Mark Baggot* hanged.

May 24. Major *Welden* of the Militia, and Captain *Phillips* of Colonel *Earls's* Regiment, kill thirteen *Rapparees* near *Montmelick*. Captain *Underhill*, of my Lord *Lisburn's* Regiment, with ſixty Foot and ten Dragoons, goes to *Ballenderry*, *May* the 26th. where they met with a Party of nigh three hundred of the *Iriſh* Army, whom they engaged, killing Captain *Geoghagan* and four more Officers, and (as the Account was) fifty private Men. Next Day the ſame Captain went out with only twenty four Men and kill'd twelve; but being ſet upon by a good Party of the *Iriſh*, commanded by Colonel *Geoghagan*, he made his retreat to *Dunore* Caſtle, having only one Man kill'd and another wounded. The ſame Day ſome *Dutch* Horſe being come to the Camp now

May, 1691. now at *Mullingar*, a Party of them went abroad, kill'd ſeveral *Rapparees*, and brought in thirty Priſoners.

Lieutenant-General *Douglas* encamps with a Party at *Ardagh*.

At this time Lieutenant-General *Douglas* was marched out of the North with a Body of Men and encamped at a place called *Ardagh* in the County of *Longford*, twelve Miles from *Mullingar*: And the Duke of *Wirtenberg* was gone towards *Thurles*, where the Foreigners that quartered laſt Winter in *Munſter* were ordered to Rendezvouz, and to be ready to joyn the reſt of the Army nigh *Banoher*, where our Great Men had ſome thoughts at that time of paſſing.

Our Train of Artillery was alſo upon their march from *Dublin* to *Mullingar*, being ſuch an one as never had been ſeen before in that Kingdom.

Our Great Officers take the Field.

Major-General *Ruvigny* is now at the Camp at *Mullingar*, whither went Major-General *Mackay* on the 28th. who came lately from *Scotland*. Major-General *Kirk* and Sir *John Lanier* go for *England*, and land at *Neſton* on the thirtieth. And much about the ſame time the Duke of *Leinſter*'s Regiment of Horſe, formerly my Lord *Devonſhire*'s, landed in *England* and march'd towards *Coventry*. Major-General *Talmaſh* being ſent by His Majeſty to aſſiſt the other Great Officers this Campaign in *Ireland*, landed at *Dublin* the latter end of *May*, having with him Sir *Martin Beckman*, chief Ingineer, and in a Day or two he went towards the Camp.

About this time the Gentlemen of the County of *Eaſt-Meath*, meeting at *Trim*, agreed to ſcoure the *Red* Bog nigh that place, where the *Rapparees* haunted and had done much miſchief during the laſt Winter; the iſſue was, that thirty five were kill'd, and ſix more fairly

fairly hanged. Some were alſo kill'd by the Militia of the County of *Waterford*, and others near *Kilmallock*, by Parties that advanced ſo far. By Packets from *England* the General had an Account by Letters from Monſieur *de Opdam*, Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Holland*, who went to *Breda* about the exchange of Priſoners taken at the *Boyne*, *Cork*, *Kinſale*, &c. with the *Dutch* taken at the Battle of *Fleur*, that the *French* refuſed to releaſe the *Iriſh* Officers under ſuch Characters as they gave themſelves, but left them under very ill Circumſtances, upbraiding them in terms very diſreſpectful, tho' they releaſed the *Iriſh* Soldiers, and ſent them to *Thoulon*, *Marſeilles*, &c. for the Sea-ſervice. *May*, 1691.

This Month now draws towards an end, and all People that had any buſineſs towards the Camp, are reſorting thither; in order to which the Lords-Juſtices ſet out a Proclamation, *Commanding all Sutlers and others to carry no Ale, or other Liquors to the Camp, but what was good and well brewed, and to be at leaſt ſix Days old; to prevent Fluxes and other Diſtempers.*

There was alſo another Proclamation, *Commanding all Perſons that deſigned to be Sutlers, to come to* Dublin *for Licenſes, and to renew thoſe each Journey.* But this being found inconvenient for the Army, it was recalled.

May the 30th. Lieutenant-General *Ginckel* went from *Dublin*, and lying that Night at *Tycroghan*, next Day his Excellency came to the Camp at *Mullingar*, where he found (Foot, *viz.*) Major-General *Kirk's*, Lord *Meath's*, Lord *Lisburn's*, Lord *Cutts's*, Colonel *Foulke's*, Colonel *Brewer's*, Lord *George Hamilton's*, and Colonel *Earle's* (Horſe,) Sir *John Lanier's*, Brigadier *Vil-* The General goes to the Camp.

May, 1691. *lers*'s, Colonel *Langſton*'s, *Rydeſel*'s, *Roucour*'s and *Monopovillon*'s, with Colonel *Leveſon*'s Dragoons, who, before his coming over was made a Brigadier by His Majeſty.

The Soldiers every Day in one Regiment or another began to appear fine in their new Cloths; and, before the Army took the Field, the Lords-Juſtices, with the Advice of the General, appointed ſeveral Officers, that had been or were actually then in the Army, to Command the Militia in different places of the Kingdom, not as being Abſolute, but rather Superintendents of the whole: As in the County of *Cork* Major *Stroud* was imployed, in the Counties of *Wickloe* and *Wexford* Major *Brooks* and Captain *Phillips*; as were alſo Major *Tichburn*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Toby Caulfield*, and others in ſeveral other places.

CHAP.

June, 1691.

CHAP. V.

The Fortifications at Mullingar *contracted into a narrower compaſs. A Stratagem of the* Iriſh *to get Horſes. The* Iriſh *march towards* Athlone. *Our Army goes towards* Ballymore: *That place beſieged: Its Situation deſcribed. Four Batteries planted. The General's Meſſage ſent in writing. A Parley beat: The Fort ſurrendred.* Ballymore *better fortified. The Army march towards* Athlone, *and joyned by the Duke of* Wirtenberg. *We approach the Town. Batteries planted. The order of the Attack. The* Engliſh *Town taken. Batteries againſt the* Iriſh *Town. The Enemy ruin our Works. A deſign to paſs the* Shannon. *The Enemy burn our cloſe Gallery. A Councel of War held. A Party ordered to paſs the River. The Town ſtormed. An Expreſs ſent to* St. Ruth. *A part of our Army left in the Country, and why. Major* Culliford *ſurprizes ſome of the* Iriſh. Inniskeen *fortified.*

June, 1691.

June the 1ſt. Very early in the Morning *Grace* and *Hogan*, two *Rapparee* Captains, with eighty Men, ſurprized a Caſtle called *Camgart*, within ſix Miles of *Birr*, kept all Winter by a Party of the Militia; the news of which was brought ſome time after to *Carolante*, where was a Garriſon kept by the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment: The Account of this was brought in haſte, and very imperfect; ſo that Enſign *Story* (who was there with another Officer) thinking to hinder the *Iriſh* from getting into the Caſtle, or at leaſt if

June, 1691. they were in, to prevent the burning of it, he goes with all ſpeed with a Party of thirty Men from *Carolante* towards *Camgart*, being not above an *Engliſh* Mile; but the Enemy were got in long before, and had ſecured all the Garriſon, and ſeeing our Party approach they kept themſelves very cloſe within the Works. The Enſign and his Men coming nigh the place, and ſeeing no appearance of either Enemies or Friends, he poſted his Men in an Orchard within Muſquet-ſhot of the Caſtle, and himſelf with two Men went up towards the Gate, but being got too nigh the Works, a Woman carrying Water to a Cabbin, made a ſign that the Enemy was within, which occaſion'd the Enſign to ſtop, at which they fired a whole Volley upon him, killing himſelf and one of the Men; the Party could not bring off the Enſign's Body, being ſo near the Caſtle; but, after ſome ſtay there, they march'd off without any further trouble from the Enemy. The other Officer, Commanding in *Carolante*, ſent back a Drum for Enſign *Story*'s Body, which the *Iriſh* made ſome ſcruple to deliver, but proferr'd to bury him Honourably, which they did, allowing his own Drum to beat the Dead March before him, and themſelves fired three Vollies at his Grave, acknowledging at his Death ſome former Civilities from him; which is very rare with that ſort of People: But this particular I mention to ſhow the incertainty of the things of this World; for this Officer was well and at liberty at nine a Clock in the Morning, but before twelve he was not only in the power, but buried by his Enemies, and that with great Formality. And a Man that is at the Pains to Deſcribe other Peoples Actions, may be allowed the liberty to leave one Page to the Memory of his own Brother.

As

As ſoon as the General came to *Mullingar*, he ordered the Works that had been made laſt Winter, for the ſecurity of that place, to be contracted into a narrower compaſs, that fewer Men might be left for their defence, and planted four Piece of Cannon upon the Mount, towards the South-ſide of the Town. Whilſt the General continued here, the Deſign of paſſing the *Shannon* at *Melick* and *Banoher* ſeem'd to be the moſt plauſible; and therefore, *June* the 5th. the General ſent Mr. *Trench* (a Clergy-man, and one who has been very forward in Their Majeſties Service) to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, then at *Bally-Boy*, (as was expected) with Directions to view the afore-mentioned places, and encamp thereabouts till the reſt of the Army joyn'd him; or, if he could, to ſurprize a Paſſage over the *Shannon*, whilſt the Enemy were gazing upon the Motion of the other part of the Army: Mr. *Trench*, and his Party of thirty Horſe, with a great deal of difficulty got through the Enemy (who then were at *Bally-Boy*, and moſt of that Country thereabouts) to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, whom he found encamped at *Roſcreagh*; but, after Mr. *Trench*'s departure, the General and the reſt of the Great Officers, conſidering that ſhould they decline to the left, towards *Melick* and *Banoher*, and leave the great Road leading towards *Athlone*, if the Enemy would be deſperate, there was nothing to hinder them from marching even up to *Dublin*; and therefore they ſent another Expreſs to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, on the 7th. to march forwards, in order to joyn the Army, towards *Athlone*.

June, 1691.

Mr. *Trench* ſent to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*.

Now you muſt know, the *Iriſh* having been very induſtrious all the Winter paſt (and ever ſince) to form a Body of Horſe, as well by ſtealing ours, as by

A Stratagem of the *Iriſh* to get Horſes.

June, 1691. by other methods moſt agreeable to their purpoſe: their laſt Trick was, to order all the Gentlemen Voluntiers in thoſe Countries within their own Juriſdiction, to appear with their beſt Horſes and Arms by ſuch a day at *Limerick*, pretending to conferr marks of Honour and Diſtinction upon the forwardeſt; by which means they Aſſembled a great many Men, and moſt of them well Mounted, who all being drawn up in the *King's-Iſland*, the greateſt part of them were on a ſudden ordered to diſmount and deliver up their Horſes for the uſe of the Army, who they were told, could better manage them for the King's Intereſt. In a day or two after this, the whole Body of their Army being about twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, moved towards *Athlone*, which way they underſtood by their Spies, that our Army deſigned to march.

They march towards *Athlone*.

Our Army march towards *Ballymore*.

Saturday June the 6th. the General with his Army march'd from *Mullingar* to *Rathcondra*, between *Meerſcourt* and *Cairn*-Caſtle, being about ſix Miles, leaving at *Mullingar* nine Twenty four Pounders, one eighteen Pounder and three Mortars. Within a Mile of our Camp we were joyned upon the march by Lieutenant-General *Douglas* with the following Regiments, (*viz.*) Foot: Lieutenant-General *Douglas*'s, Brigadier *Stuart*'s, Sir *Henry Bellaſis*'s, Colonel *Tiffin*'s, Colonel *St. John*'s, Colonel *Guſtavus Hamilton*'s, Colonel *Herbert*'s, and Colonel *Creighton*'s, as alſo Colonel *Woolſey*'s: Twelve Troops of Horſe, with Colonel *Wynn*'s and Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Dragoons. The ſame day a Deſerter of my Lord *George Hamilton*'s was hanged upon a Buſh as the Army march'd by. That night the General ſent out a ſtrong Party of Dragoons

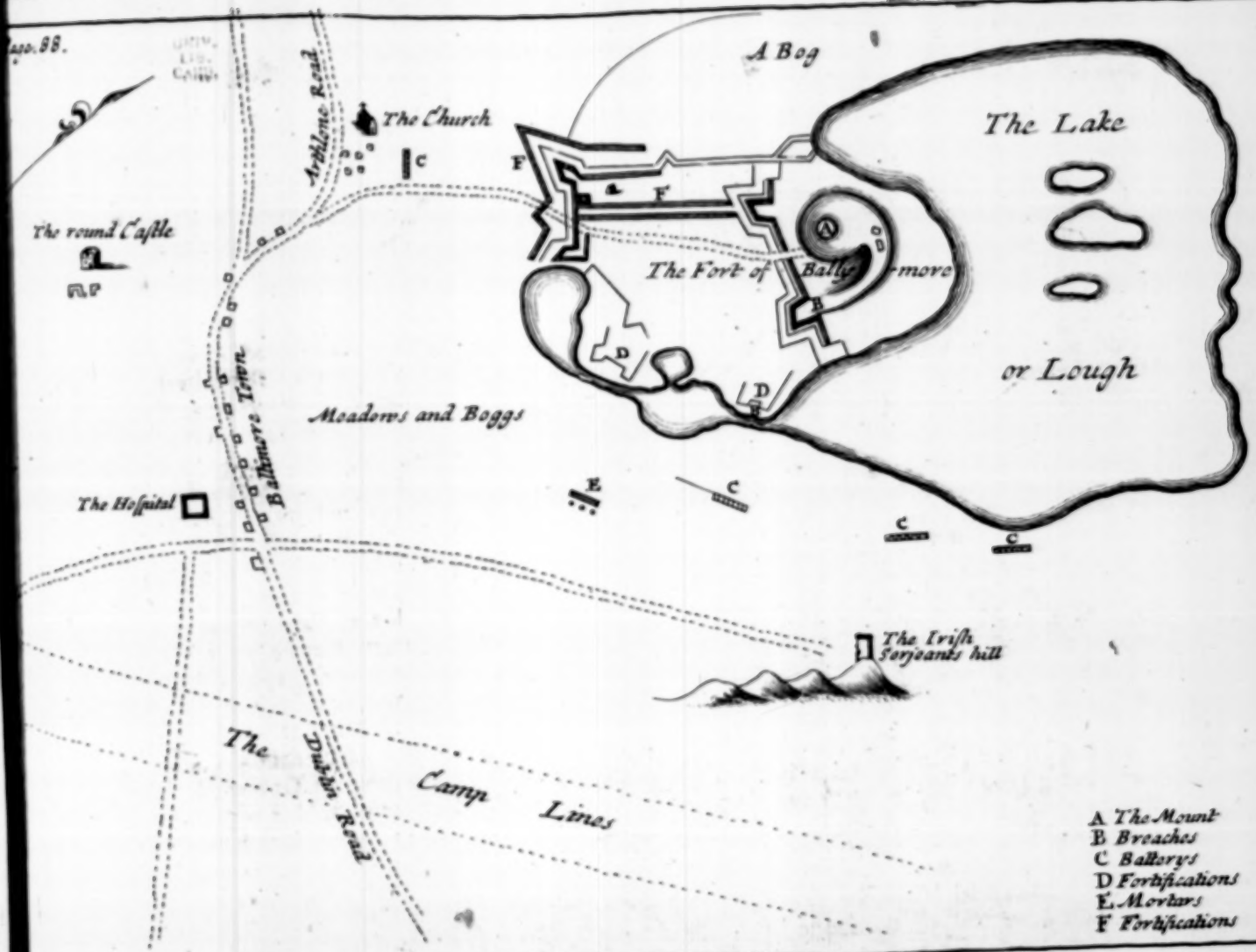
Dragoons towards *Ballymore*, as well to prevent relief from getting in, as to ſecure the Enemy from ſtealing of in the night towards *Athlone*: Theſe meeting with ſome of that Garriſon abroad, killed four, and brought in two Priſoners, one of which was very much wounded, and gave an Account, That the Garriſon in *Ballymore* was a Detachment of their beſt Men ſent from *Athlone*, being about a thouſand in number. *June*, 1691.

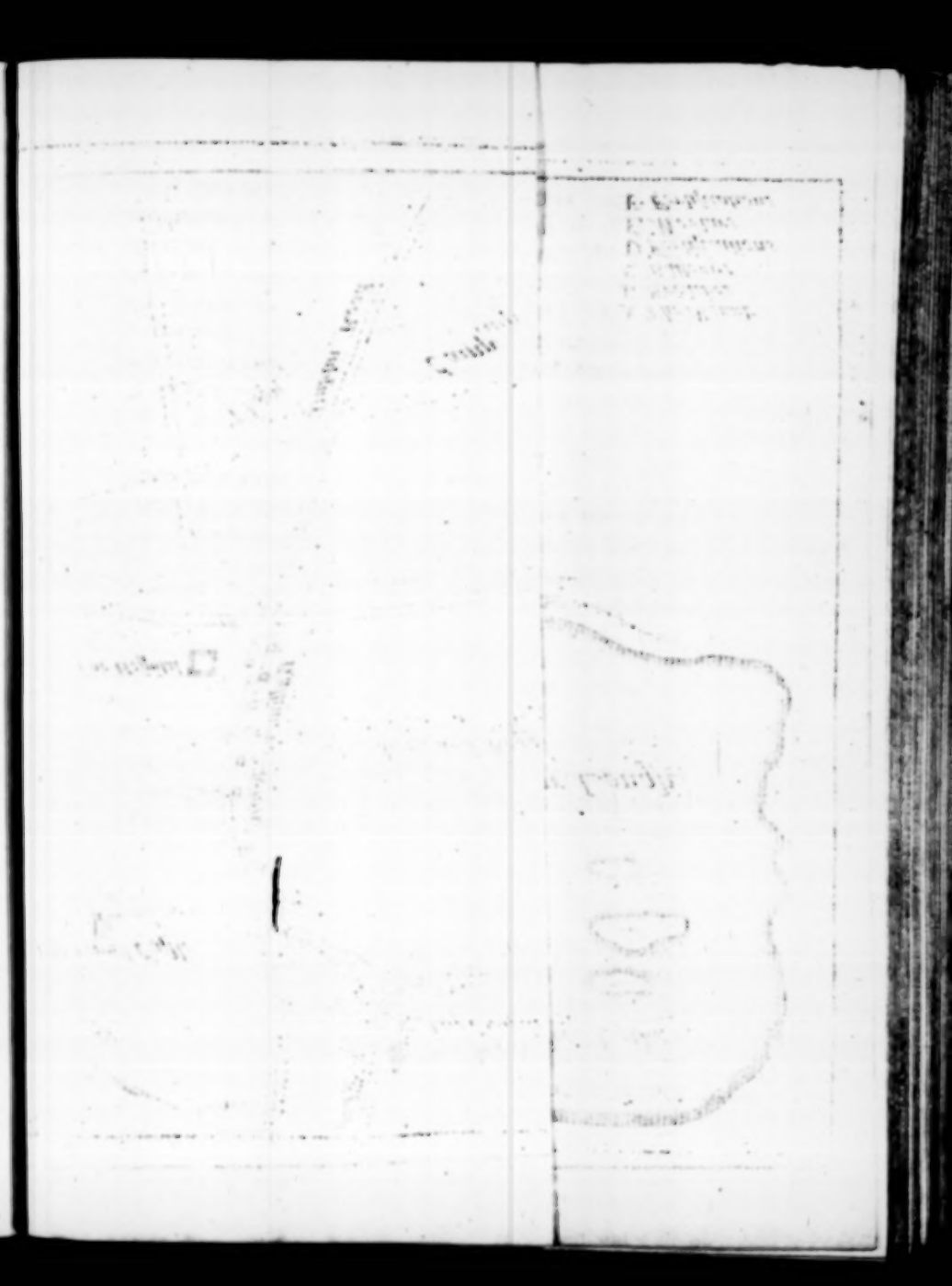
June the 7th. the Army march'd to *Ballymore*, and by twelve a Clock had beat the Enemy within the Works, and ſurrounded the Fort; the Enemy firing their ſmall Shot, and two ſmall *Turkiſh* Pieces that were mounted upon old Cart-Wheels. But before I give you an Account of the taking this Fort, it will not be amiſs to give you a ſlender Deſcription of it. *Ballymore* beſieged.

I do not find any thing Remarkable of this place in former times; it's only a ſmall Village upon the Great Road between *Mullingar* and *Athlone*, being ten Miles diſtant from each. The place has always been very poor, and had only two or three Houſes of Entertainment in it, the reſt being all *Iriſh* Cabbins, to the number of a hundred or thereabouts, (though now there is neither Houſe nor Cabbin ſtanding.) A little to the right of the Town as you go to *Athlone*, ſtood a pretty Church upon a riſing ground; about a hundred and twenty Yards from which there lies a ſpot of Ground about ſix Acres, which is almoſt an Iſland, by reaſon of a great Lough to the Eaſt, North, and North-Eaſt; and on the North-Weſt there is Bogg; a ſmall neck of Land running from the Church on the South-Weſt, prevents The Place deſcribed.

June, 1691. vents it from being altogether an Iſland. This Iſthmus had been formerly Fortified with a double Ditch, and within that a Stone Wall, and then there ſtood a pretty ſtrong Houſe, where one Widow *White* lived the year before, when Lieutenant-General *Douglas* march'd that way to *Athlone*, who took Protection, and ſecured a good ſtock of Sheep and Cows in this Peninſula whilſt we lay Encamp'd by the Town. At the further end next the broadeſt part of the Lough, ſtood a ſtrong *Daniſh* Fort (as this Kingdom is every where full of them) now Fortified with a Ditch twenty Foot broad and ten Foot deep, being alſo Palliſado'd round. Towards the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, the Lough is ſo broad, that Cannon can do no execution over it; but towards the South-Eaſt, there is a large round Hill which overlooks the Iſland, and from whence you may ſee into all places of it. This place was neglected by us laſt year, as being ſo poor in it ſelf, that it could not ſupport a Garriſon; but the *Iriſh* ſeeing the natural ſtrength of it, and withal the advantage of diſturbing our neighbouring Garriſons from thence, they preſently fell to work and Fortified it; here they kept a Garriſon all Winter, and towards the Spring ſent that Detachment thither which we now found.

The Fort Summoned. At the approach of our Army the General ſent a Summons to the place; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Mylo Burk* being proud of the name of Governour, would not hearken to the General's mild Propoſals; then four Field-Pieces were brought down, which play'd three or four hours at Random upon the Iſland; and a Serjeant and fifteen Men being in an old Caſtle nigh a quarter of a Mile to the South-Weſt of the Fort, after all hopes of being relieved, was cut off;


A Bog
The Lake
The Church
Athlone Road
The round Castle
The Fort of Ballymore
or Lough
Meadows and Boggs
Ballinure Town
The Hospital
The Irish Serjeants hill
The Dublin Road
Camp Lines
A The Mount
B Breaches
C Batterys
D Fortifications
E Mortars
F Fortifications



off; the Serjeant fired upon ſome of our Men and killed one or two, for which, as ſoon as the Caſtle was Surrendred, he was hanged. *June*, 1691.

By ten a Clock at night, four Batteries were raiſed, one below the Hill on the Eaſt towards the Lough ſide, of ſix Guns; two more of four a piece, towards the Church, and another for four Mortars. On *Munday* the 8th. about Sun-riſing theſe Batteries began to play, and ſome time after the General ſent a Summons to the Governour, *That if he would not deliver up the Place within two hours, he ſhould have the ſame Treatment that his Serjeant met with the day before.* But he pretending to miſtake the Meſſage, and deſiring his Excellency to let him have his pleaſure in Writing, the General ſent a Gentleman again with this following Note. Four Batteries planted.

Since the Governour deſires to ſee in Writing the Meſſage which I juſt now ſent him by word of mouth, he may know, That if he Surrenders the Fort of Ballymore *to me within two hours, I will give him and his Garriſon their Lives, and make them Priſoners of War; if not, neither he nor they ſhall have any Quarter, nor another opportunity of ſaving themſelves: However, if in that time their Women and Children will go out, they have my leave.* The General's Meſſage to the Governour, ſent afterwards in Writing.

Given at the Camp this 8th. day of *June*, 1691, at 8 a Clock in the Morning.

Bar De GINCKEL.

June, 1691. But nothing leſs than marching out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, *&c.* would ſatisfie this Noble Governour: Upon which, the General ordered all our Guns and Mortars to fall to work, the Bombs tearing up the Sandy Banks, and the *Iriſh* running like Conies from one Hole to another; whilſt the Guns were battering the Works and making a Breach, the *Iriſh* in the mean time did what they could with their two Guns and ſmall Shot; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Burton* their Ingineer, had his Hand ſhot off from one of our Batteries, and their Works went down apace, which made the *Iriſh* very uneaſie. This Siege however, was very delightful to our whole Army, who had a view of it from the adjoyning Hill. My Lord Juſtice *Coningesby* alſo, who was now in the Camp, and ſtay'd here for ſome time, having the ſatisfaction of being an Eye-witneſs of the forwardneſs of our Soldiers.

A Parley beat. About twelve a Clock the Enemy beat a Parley, and hung out a white Flag, but the General would not take notice of it; and our Batteries went on with that ſucceſs, that two Breaches were made, one in the uttermoſt Fort next the Town, the other on the Works on the ſame ſide within the Iſland; and the General ſeem'd reſolved to Storm the Fort next morning at the coming up of the Tin Boats: there were four large Boats however then in the Camp, which were the Fleet prepared laſt Year for *Hoard*'s Expedition upon the *Shannon*, and were all Winter at *Mullingar*. Theſe the General ordered to be Launched upon the Lough, and filled with Armed Men. The Enemy ſeeing this, and their Iſland being altogether open on that ſide, they were moſt terrible affraid of being all deſtroyed: So that about ſeven a Clock they began to beat a Parley again, and hung out their Flag, begging Quarter

Quarter for God's ſake: which the General hearing, and being in his own temper a very Merciful Man, he was pleaſed to order the Guns and Mortars to forbear firing; and by eight of the Clock, the Governor and ſome of the Officers coming out, they ſurrendred the Place at diſcretion: Upon which Colonel *Earl*, with eight hundred Fire-Locks, march'd in over the Breach that our Guns had made; and the Enemy, laying down their Arms, were continued Priſoners in the Fort all Night. *June*, 1691. The Fort ſurrendred.

June the 9th. About ſix a Clock in the Morning the General went to view the Fort, wherein were found fifty one Officers, ſeven hundred and eighty Soldiers, and two hundred and ſixty *Rapparees*, who were moſt of them Arm'd; theſe were all ſent Priſoners to *Dublin*, and from thence all, except the Officers, were ſent to *Lambay*, an Iſland above a League from the Continent. There were alſo nigh four hundred Women and Children, all crouded up in this ſad place, who were ſet at liberty. Our Men found alſo in the Fort four hundred and thirty Sheep, about forty Cows, and fifty Garrans, and good ſtore of Oat-meal. We loſt in this Action only eight Men; and the *Iriſh* had about forty kill'd by our Bombs and Cannon. But it ſeemed very inaccountable to moſt People, that the Enemy neither endeavoured to relieve or quit this place, ſince they loſt in it above a Regiment of their beſt Men; tho' this was but what they did afterwards at ſeveral places nigh *Limerick*. What Scores and Proviſions found therein.

The 10th. In the Morning early two hundred Men were drawn out to work at the Fort, which the General had ordered to be better fortified by a Line of Com- *Ballymore* better fortified.

June, 1691. munication from the Out-works to the *Daniſh* Fort, and other additions towards the Water-ſide; our Men fell to work at firſt in repairing the Breaches, but were obliged to deſiſt by bad Weather; however they levelled all the Batteries and Trenches that we had made againſt the Fort. And Orders were given out that Night for one hundred Men of a Regiment to be for the Works in the Morning, with a Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign. The Sutlers that were ready to go to *Mullingar* were to have a Guard at the Hoſpital, where they were to take up what Men were ſick or wounded: And the Majors of each Regiment were to have a particular Care that the Mens Arms were fix'd and clean; which Orders were often repeated.

June the 11th. One Captain *Taylor* and two private Men deſert from the Enemy, who acquaint us, that my Lord *Tyrconnel*, by a Declaration, dated *May* the 15th. had ordered all the *Rapparees* into *Connaught*, to recruit their Army; and that the General, *St. Ruth*, at his going towards *Athlone*, had ordered Brigadier *Maxwel*'s Men to drive all the Cattle in thoſe parts in the Rear of the Army, for their ſupport; and that the *Iriſh* talk'd of giving us Battel; tho' they were generally diſſatisfied with the few and mean Cloaths ſent them out of *France*, and the ſmall allowances of Proviſions, *&c.*

This Evening it was given out in Orders, that the Chaplains ſhould ſay Prayers at the Heads of their reſpective Regiments at ten in the Morning and ſeven at Night, and to admoniſh the Men from Swearing; a Vice too common at all times amongſt us.

The

The 12th. the Soldiers were prohibited Gaming; and all Guards were to be relieved conſtantly at nine a Clock. Our Line of Communication was then finiſhed, and we were working upon a Spur, Half-Moon, and Horn-Work, with a good Ditch to cover the Draw-Bridge and Entrance to the Out-work. There was alſo a Baſtion begun to the Right, towards the *Lough*, and a large Half-Moon towards the Left, both which command the new uttermoſt Work; and the Fort was ordered to be amended by throwing part of it down, and building it a-new. A Work was likewiſe deſigned along the Lough ſide to cover thoſe within, that ſide being open, and none could ſtir in the Fort but were expoſed to Shot from the Hill. A Platform was alſo deſigned for eight Guns on the top of the Mount. *June*, 1691.

The ſame Day ten Guns and three Mortars, left at *Mullingar*, were brought up; and four Troopers deſert the Enemy, who confirm the Report of their being at *Athlone* with the greateſt part of their Army.

June the 13th. One hundred Priſoners were ſent from the Camp to *Carne-Caſtle*, (a place three Miles hence, where the *Rapparees* uſed to ſhelter themſelves) and demoliſhed it. And ſtealing being become very common in the Camp, a Fellow was hanged for ſtealing an Horſe; which wrought ſome Reformation for a time.

The 14th. and 15th. we continued improving the foremention'd Works. On the 16th. a ſtrong Party of Horſe was ſent to view *Athlone*. And on the 17th. Lieutenant-Colonel *Toby Purcell* was left Governor of *Ballymore*, with four Companies of Lieutenant-General *Douglas's*

June, 1691. *Douglas*'s Regiment, who went himſelf towards the North, and from thence to *Flanders*. The ſame Day my Lord *Lisburn* was ſent out towards *Lanesborough* with a Party of two thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, who, meeting with a ſmall Party of the *Iriſh* Horſe, kill'd two or three, and the reſt fled in haſte towards the *Shannon*, but miſtaking the Ford one or two more were drown'd. That Evening Orders were given out, That no Sutler or other Perſon whatever ſhould buy any Ammunition, Arms, or Accoutrements, or any thing that belongs to the Soldiers, on pain of Death; becauſe the Soldiers, for a little Money, would be apt to ſell their Cloaths or Shooes. And, if as great Care were not taken of moſt of them as of Children, they would ſoon be in a very indifferent condition.

The Army march towards *Athlone*, and is joyned by the Duke of *Wirtenberg*.

June the 18th. The Army march'd from *Ballymore*, and encamp'd that Night at *Ballyburn* Paſs near *Twoy*, where we were joyned by that part of the Army commanded by the Duke of *Wirtenberg* and Count *Naſſau*, being all Foreigners, and ſeven thouſand in Number; and now our Army is about eighteen thouſand.

The General with a Party of Horſe views *Athlone*, where he could ſee ſeveral of the Enemy's Horſe upon the little Hills nigh the Town, and their Camp about two Miles beyond the River upon a narrow Neck of Land between two Boggs, where they remain'd till the Town was taken.

We approach the Town.

June the 19th. Very early in the Morning our Advance-Party march'd, and by nine a Clock had beat the Enemy from ſeveral out Ditches to within the Walls of the *Engliſh* Town on this ſide the River, our Men lodging

lodging themſelves in the ſame Ditches. For tho' the *Iriſh* quitted it the Year before, and burnt the Houſes both without and within the Walls upon the approach of Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, yet they deſigned to ſhow more Courage this time, and defend this ſide the River alſo; which made ſome blame Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, as guilty of an Over-ſight, in not demoliſhing the Walls when he quitted it the Year preceeding; but thoſe that accompanied him in that Expedition know that he had not time for it. And ſince the *Iriſh* ſeem'd ſo Brave, the General was reſolved to loſe no time, ordering three Guns to be planted nigh a Ford on *Lanesborough*-ſide, which play'd all that Day upon a Breaſt-Work that the Enemy had on the other ſide. About ſix in the Evening our Guns came up to a Battery planted between *Iſker* and *Athlone*; and that Night we were hard at work in raiſing another Battery, on which we mounted nine eighteen Pounders. And, *June*, 1691.

June the 20th. about eight a Clock in the Morning our Battery began to play on a Baſtion not far from *Dublin*-Gate; by twelve we made a Breach the breadth of the Baſtion, and continued firing to prevent the Enemy from raiſing any Works within. About three a Clock a Council of War was held, wherein the following Rules were agreed upon, in order to the ſtorming the Place at five. Which, becauſe they ſhow the Method of Attacking Towns by Storm, it will not be impertinent here to inſert them. Batteries planted.

Order

June, 1691.

Order of the Attack at ATHLONE *the Twentieth of* June, 1691, *at Five in the Afternoon.*

The Order of the Attack at *Athlone.*

There are to be Commanded from each Wing a hundred and fifty Granadiers, in all three hundred, which are to be Commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, ſix Captains, twelve Lieutenants, twelve Serjeants, and that Detachment ſhall be diſpoſed of as followeth.

1. A Lieutenant, Serjeant, and thirty Granadiers; who as ſoon as they ſhall enter the Breach, ſhall take to the Right towards the Bridge, to prevent the Enemies getting that way into the Town; but if they find any Retrenchment before the Bridge, they ſhall Poſt themſelves in Covert as well as they can thereabouts.

2. After them a Captain, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, and fifty Soldiers.

3. Then the Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, five Lieutenants, five Serjeants, with a hundred and twenty Granadiers, who ſhall follow the two former Detachments towards the Bridge.

4. After theſe the Major, with two Captains, four Lieutenants, four Serjeants, and a hundred and ten Granadiers, who are to take to the Left, and clear the Rampart of the Enemy.

5. After theſe fifty Work-men, whereof Twenty-five are to follow the Lieutenant-Colonel to the Right, and Twenty-five to go after the Major to the Left, with Hatchets, Pick-Axes, Shovels, and Hammers.

and

6. After them ſhall follow the two Battalions of *Stuart* and Prince *Frederick*, whereof *Stuart* is to go to the Right, and Prince *Frederick* to the Left; and the Officers are to take care that the Men do not preſs on too faſt, but cover themſelves from the Enemies Fire as ſoon as they can. *June*, 1691.

7. After theſe two Battalions, two hundred Foot to carry Faſcines, and each of them to carry Tools along with them.

8. After theſe ſhall follow the Regiments of *Brewer*, to ſuſtain *Stuart*, and Count *Naſſau* to ſuſtain Prince *Frederick*.

9. The Work-men are to open, as ſoon as poſſible, the two Gates of the Town, that the Horſe and Foot may come in that way.

10. The Lieutenant-Colonels, or Major, (or both) that ſhall come firſt to the Ford on the left of the Bridge, is to take care to prevent the Enemies Sallying that way; and alſo, that their Men do not fire one upon another.

11. All theſe foregoing Detachments are to be Commanded by Major-General *Mackay*, and the Brigadiers *Stuart* and *Vittinghoff*.

To ſuſtain all theſe, a good Body of Horſe were got ready, and a Lieutenant of Colonel *Cambon*'s Regiment, according to Orders, having the Advance Party of thirty Men, went under Covert of certain Hills within a hundred and fifty Yards of the Breach, then Advanced upon the Plain before his Men, and the reſt of the Detachments following the Enemy fired upon us very ſmartly; but our Men went on and kept their fire till they were at the Breach, which the *French* Lieutenant firſt mounted, throwing his

June, 1691. Granade and firing his Piece, ordering his Men to do the like, and with great bravery encouraged his Party, though he loſt his Life in the Action. Our Granades ſo galled the Enemy, and the Men preſſed ſo faſt upon the Breach, that the other quit their Works and run towards the Bridge, whither we purſued them, and even to the foot of the Draw-Bridge; the *Iriſh* in their hurrying over the Bridge, crowded forwards ſo faſt, that ſeveral were cruſhed to death, and not a few forced over the ſides of the Bridge, who were either kill'd or ſore bruiſed. When our Men had poſſeſſion of the Town they rung the Bell, and covered themſelves at the Bridge foot. We loſt not above twenty men, and had about double the number Wounded; the Enemy had about ſixty killed and more wounded. Brigadier *Stuart* was Wounded in this Action, and one Captain, with three private men of the Enemies taken. Lieutenant-Colonel *Kirk* of Brigadier *Viller's* Regiment, was unfortunately killed by a great Shot from the Town, as he lay viewing the Action upon the ſide of an Hill. That Evening our three Guns were drawn off from the Ford, and nine Guns from the Battery into the Town.

The *Engliſh-Town* taken.

Batteries planted againſt the *Iriſh-Town*.

June the 21ſt. ſeveral Detachments of Horſe were ſent abroad, one Commanded by Colonel *Woolſley*, went towards *Ballymore* to meet the eleven Guns and three Mortars that were upon the Road, and alſo to haſten the Pontoons. This Evening a Battery was begun at the foot of the Bridge to the Right, for five Twenty-four Pounders, and a Floor made for ſix Mortars.

The

The 22d. about five in the Morning, our Batteries were finiſhed, and by ſix the Cannon and Mortars begun to play very briskly on the North-Eaſt ſide of the Caſtle where it was weakeſt, and by ſeven in the Evening a large Breach appear'd in the Wall. In the Afternoon a *French* Lieutenant-Colonel was brought off by our Men, who had laid under the Bridge ſince the Attack; he was ſore bruiſed, and his Back almoſt broke, but ſeemed not to be ſo much afflicted with his own private Misfortune, as in being engaged with a People who were like to prove but very indifferent defenders of his Maſter the *French* King's Intereſt in that Kingdom. *June*, 1691.

The 23d. our Guns and Mortars continued firing all Night with that ſucceſs, that by five in the Morning the whole ſide of the Caſtle was beaten down, and our Bombs had that effect upon it, as to make it very unſerviceable to the Enemy, who were now forced to make an Hole on the Weſt-ſide of the Wall to get out and in, though in a day or two they had no buſineſs there at all. About two that Afternoon our Tin Boats, Floats, and other Materials, came to the Camp, with Colonel *Byerley*'s and my Lord of *Oxford*'s Regiments, and a great many People were ſet to work to repair thoſe Boats that were ſpoiled the Year before nigh *Limerick*; for there being more New ones expected from *England* than really came, and what we had being judged too few, thoſe Old Boats were brought out of a place where they had been thrown by, and ſo were fitted up to lay next the Shore; which occaſion'd a Report, that they were concealed on purpoſe by the Store-keeper; but the thing was as it is here related. The Tin Boats come up.

June, 1691. The ſame Afternoon a Priſoner was taken nigh the Bridge, who gave an Account, that Sixty-four Men were in a Mill upon the Bridge, which being fired by our Granades, and thoſe within not being able to quench it, nor get thence, they were all conſumed with the Fire, except the Priſoner and one more that eſcaped by leaping into the Water. A Drummer comes to the General from the Town, with an Anſwer of his Letter, ſent the Day before, about the exchange of Priſoners.

The 24th. was ſpent in raiſing three Batteries, one below the Bridge, another above it, and a third without the Town-Wall by the River-ſide, oppoſite to a Baſtion the Enemy had made on the other ſide the River. That Evening one of my Lord *Lisburn*'s Men going under the Bridge to ſee for Plunder, found a pair of Colours amongſt the dead Men; and tho' the Enemy fired a great many Shot at him, yet he brought them off flying, and preſented them to the General, who rewarded the Soldier with five Guinnea's.

We begin now to contrive Methods of paſſing the River, and a Lieutenant of Horſe was commanded with a Party to a Ford towards *Lanesborough*, where the General was informed there might be an eaſie and undiſcovered Paſſage for moſt of our Army, whilſt our Cannon amuſed the Enemy at the Town. This Party went and found the Paſs according to Information; but tho' he was poſitively ordered to return as ſoon as he had paſſed the River, yet ſuch are the powerful Charms of Black Cattle, to ſome ſorts of People, that the Lieutenant eſpying a Prey ſome diſtance from him on the other ſide, muſt needs be ſcampering after them; by which means our Deſign was diſ-

diſcovered, and the Enemy immediately provided againſt it, by throwing up ſtrong Works on the other ſide: The Lieutenant, I heard, was afterwards try'd, and ſuffered for it. *June*, 1691.

That Night the Enemy raiſed two Batteries above the Caſtle, the one cloſe by the River, the other at a greater diſtance from it upon a riſing Ground; the one of four, the other of three ſix Pounders; with the latter of which, *June* 25. they play'd on the old Walls in the Town, where our Men were lodged, but did little or no harm; with the other they ſhot into ſome of our Regiments, encamped near the River, which obliged them to remove to a greater diſtance. Our Battery of ſix Twenty-four Pounders below the Bridge, play'd on the Enemy's Breaſt-Work on the other ſide, which did it very great Damage, and alſo ruin'd moſt of the Houſes that were as yet left ſtanding; which ſo expoſed the Enemies other Works to our view, that they were forced to quit moſt of their Trenches, none appearing but ſome few behind the Caſtle. The Enemy plant new Batteries.

The 28th. was ſpent in firing from ſeven Batteries upon the Enemies Works, and a great many were kill'd in endeavouring to repair them. About thirty Waggons loaden with Powder come to the Camp; and that Night we poſſeſs our ſelves of all the Bridge, except one Arch at the farther end on *Connaught* ſide, which was broken down, and we repair another broken Arch in our poſſeſſion; and all Night our Guns and Mortars play moſt furiouſly. For the Deſign of paſſing the River at the Ford being fruſtrate, the General and the other Great Officers reſolve to try what can be done in forcing our way through Seven Batteries now at work.

Athlone

June, 1691. *Athlone* it ſelf, and therefore we labour hard to gain the Bridge; but what we got here was Inch by Inch as it were, the Enemy ſticking very cloſe to it, though great Numbers of them were ſlain by our Guns: And this Service coſt us great ſtore of Ammunition.

The 27th. ſeven *Rapparees* were brought in, being taken at *Ballynehewen*; to which place the General ordered a Garriſon of a Lieutenant and twenty Men. That Afternoon one hundred Carrs came from *Dublin* to the Camp loaden with Cannon-Ball: And all that Day our Guns and Mortars fired without intermiſſion. We raiſed alſo a Battery of five Guns in the Meadow below the Town, to ſtop the way the Enemy had on that ſide of coming into the Town. And in the Evening our Men burn the Breaſt-Works the Enemy had on the other ſide the broken Arch with throwing their Granado's; for moſt of theſe being made of Faſcines, and the Weather being hot, they ſoon dried and eaſily took fire. That Night we wrought very hard on the laſt Arch in the Enemies poſſeſſion. So that on,

The Enemy ruin our Works.

Sunday the 28th. in the Morning our Beams were laid over and partly planked; which the Enemy perceiving, they detach'd a Sergeant and ten Men out of Brigadier *Maxwell*'s Regiment, being all bold and daring *Scots*, theſe were all in Armour, and came over their own Works with a deſign to ruin ours, but were all of them ſlain; and yet this did not diſcourage as many more from ſetting about the ſame piece of Service, and they effected it by throwing down our Planks and Beams, maugre all our Firing and Skill, tho' they all loſt their Lives

Lives as Teſtimonies of their Valour, except two who eſcaped amongſt all the Fire and Smoak: This made us reſolved to carry on our Work by a cloſe Gallery on the Bridge; which was done. But all laſt Night and that Morning the Enemy were hard at work, in repairing ſome old, and making new Trenches in the Meadow oppoſite to our new Battery; and our Guns are now playing very briskly, eſpecially on a place called *Connaught-Tower*, which ſtood on the North-ſide the Caſtle, and was ſo ſolid, that it took up more time to bring down than any one part of the Caſtle. *June*, 1691.

This Afternoon a Council of War was held, wherein it was concluded, That next Morning we ſhould attempt paſſing the *Shannon*; one Party to go over the Bridge; a ſecond to paſs upon the Floats and Pontoons; and a third Detachment were to go over the Ford below the Bridge; where our Horſe were alſo to paſs and ſecond the Foot; a large Breach being made on the other ſide for their entrance. And accordingly at Night Orders were given out, That forty three Granadeers, eighty three private Men, three Captains, five Lieutenants, two Enſigns, and ſeven Sergeants out of each Regiment, with fifteen Shots a Man, and every one a green Bough in his Hat, ſhould be ready by ſix a Clock in the Morning under the Walls of the Town, and all to be commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; but the whole to be done with the greateſt ſilence and ſecreſie imaginable. *Killkenny* was the Word that Night. A deſign to paſs the *Shannon*.

The 29th. in the Morning our Men were ready according to Orders, and march'd to the Town-Wall, where they ſtood at their Arms; but before our Boats

June, 1691 Boats and their Appurtenances could be drawn into the Town it was ten a Clock; and all this Morning we obſerved great Bodies of the Enemy march into the *Iriſh Town* (though our Cannon were very troubleſome to them) for the *Iriſh* gueſſing at our Deſign, or rather being aſſured of it by ſome Deſerters, they drew a very conſiderable Body of their choiceſt Men to their Works. But whilſt theſe Preparations were making on both ſides, the Granadiers of both Parties that defended the Breaſt-works on the Bridge, throwing Hand-Granadoes one at the other; the Enemies Granadoes ſet fire to our Faſcines that lay cloſe on the broken Arch where our Gallery was, which ſuddenly flamed ſo violently, that our Men could not endure the Fire and Smoke that blew in their faces; and though they laboured very hard to extinguiſh it, yet could not prevent the burning that part of the Breaſt-work next the broken Arch, but preſerved all the reſt, by raiſing another Breaſt-work on a ſudden juſt behind the burnt one. By this time it was paſt twelve a Clock, and the Generals finding the Attack upon the Town that way like to coſt many Lives, they deferr'd it till new Meaſures were Conſulted on; nor knew they well what to think at preſent, ſeeing themſelves defeated in ſo great a Project; and, as it fell out, Providence in all appearance had ordered it for the beſt; for it's probable, that if our Men had really forced the Bridge at that time, they would have run great hazards in ſtorming the Town, the Enemy being ſo well provided for them; and then our Retreat could not have been without the ruin of more Men than it has pleaſed God we loſt in all the Actions ſince. All that Afternoon our Guns continue firing. And alſo,

The Enemy burn our cloſe Gallery.

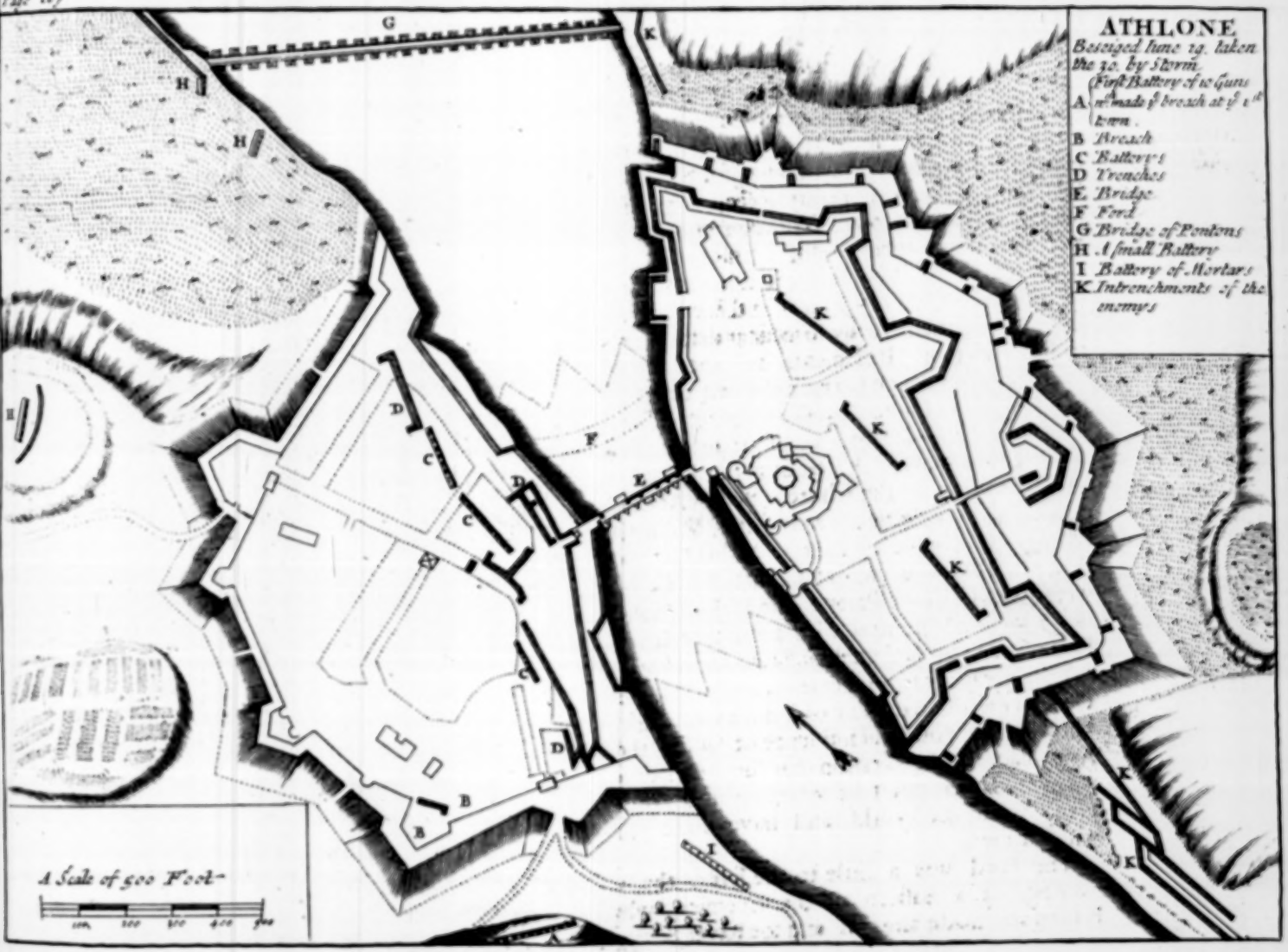
June

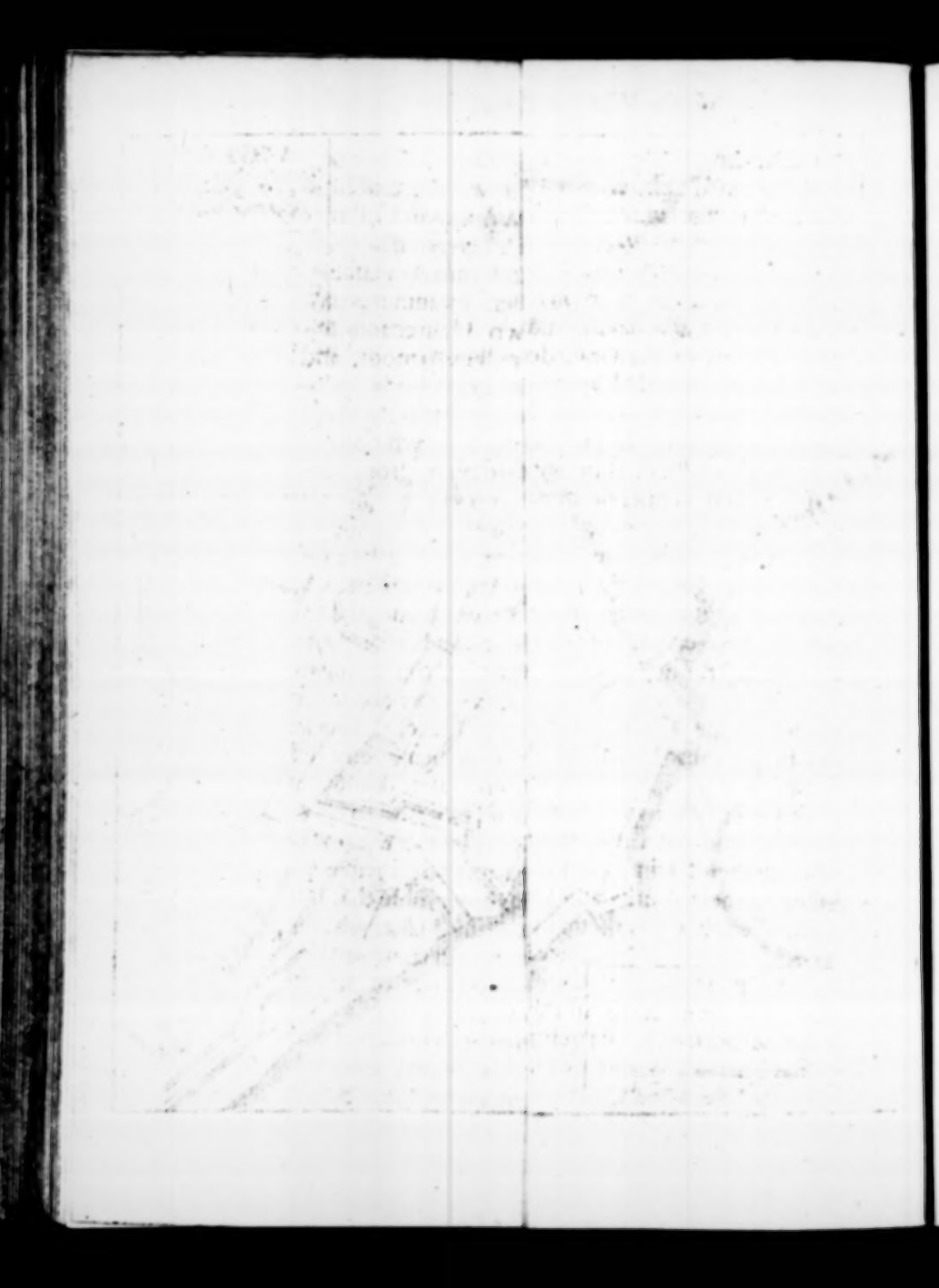
June the 30. Our Canon play without ceaſing and in the Afternoon another Council of War was held, wherein the difficulties of ſtaying there any longer were repreſented, all the Forrage being conſumed for ſeveral Miles round, ſo that they muſt reſolve to do ſomething with Expedition, or elſe to remove with the whole Army to ſome more likely Paſs, which wanted not its inconveniencies neither, ſince by this means the Enemy were encouraged, and our own men diſheartened at the beginning of the Campaign, and not only ſo, but upon our removing there was a way open for the Enemy even to *Dublin* it ſelf, at leaſt into all the Countries adjacent, by which means we muſt expoſe at leaſt our Proviſions to hazzard, and ſo be forced to go back to make a defenſive, inſtead of an offenſive War; And on the other hand to make an Attack upon the Town, not to ſucceed, and then be forced to remove wou'd be of more fatal Conſequence. *June* 1691. A Council of War.

However, the Duke of *Wertenberg*, the Major Generals, *Mackey*, *Talmaſh*, *Ruvigny* and *Tetteau*, urged that no brave Action could be attempted without hazzard, and conſidering the goodneſs of our own men, and the faintneſs of the Enemy in all great Attacks that had been made upon them, hitherto, they ſtood up for the probability of the attempt, proffering themſelves to be the firſt that ſhou'd indeavour to force the Enemies Works in their own perſons, (particularly Major General *Talmaſh*, very forward and inſtrumental in promoting was of it,) which they happily performed accordingly, for the Detachment drawn down the day before was ordered ſtill to be in a readineſs, and the General gave Command that they ſhould be all A Party ordered to paſs the River.

June 1691. brought down before ſix a Clock, the uſual time for relieving the Guards, that the Enemy might not ſuſpect our deſign, and as a lucky omen to further the attempt, there came two Officers from the Enemy in the interim, who ſwam the River, and aſſured the General that now was his time, for that the Enemy was mighty ſecure, thinking that having deſtroyed our Works on the Bridge, we were at a ſtand what to do, and would certainly draw off, ſince they thought it impoſſible to attempt the paſſing the River in the Face of all their Works, and their Army ſo near; that three of the moſt indifferent Regiments in the *Iriſh* Army were only then upon Guard, the reſt being all very ſecure in their Camp; all theſe Circumſtances concurring with the inclinations ofour brave Commanders, the ſignal for the paſſing the River, was to be the tolling of the Church Bell. About 2000 detacht Men were now ready, and Major General *Mackay* to Command them; Major General *Tettean*, the Prince of *Heſs* and Brigadeer *La Mollinet* were likewiſe of the Party: And Major General *Talmarſh* went a Volunteer with a Party of Granadeers Commanded by Collonel *Guſtavus Hambleton*. And for the greater encouragement to the Soldiers, the General deſtributed a ſum of Guinea's amongſt them, knowing the powerful influence of Gold, tho our Army had as little occaſion for ſuch Gratuities (I mean as to that point of whetting their Courage) as any in all the World, and have done as much without them.

The Ford was a little to the left of the Bridge over againſt a Baſtion of the Enemies, where a Breach was made already, and the River being try'd three


ATHLONE
Besieged June 19. taken the 30. by Storm.
A First Battery of 10 Guns which made the breach at the E. end of the town.
B Breach
C Batterys
D Trenches
E Bridge
F Ford
G Bridge of Pontons
H A small Battery
I Battery of Mortars
K Intrenchments of the enemys
A Scale of 500 Foot



three days before, by three of the *Danes*, (one being a reformed Officer, who with two more, boldly ventured in the face of all their Works, and in opposition to their Vollies which were made at them, and that at Noon-day) and found passable, so that all things being in this order, six minutes past six a Clock, Capt. *Sandys* and two Lieutenants led the first Party of 60. Granadeers all in Armour, and 20 a Breast, seconded by another good Body, who all with an amazing resolution took the River, the Stream being very Rapid and deep, at which time our Great and Small Shot began to play from our Batteries and Works on our side upon the Enemies Works on the other, and they fired as thick as possible for them upon our men that were passing the River, who forced their way thro Fire and Smoak, and gaining the other Bank, the rest laid Planks over the broken part of the Bridge, and others were laying the Bridge of Boats, by which our men past over so fast that in less than half an hour we were Masters of the Town; and all the Trenches except one beyond the Town, for the *Irish* being amazed at the suddenness of the thing, and the resolution of our men, with no great difficulty began to give ground, and soon after made the best of their way towards their Camp, tho a great many of them were killed in their Works; and yet it's observable that our men when they saw themselves really Masters of the Town, were not at all forward to kill those at their mercy, tho it was in a manner in the heat of Action, but the Rubbish and Stuff thrown down by our Cannon was more difficult to climb over than a great part of the Enemies Works, which occasioned our Soldiers to Swear and Curse even amongst the Bullets

June 1691.

June 1691. themſelves, upon which Major General *Mackay* told them that they had more reaſon to fall upon their Knees and thank God for the Victory, and that they were brave men, and the beſt of men if they would Swear leſs.

What Store found in Town.

The Soldiers however got good ſtore of Plunder amongſt the Ruines, and a great many dead men were found in the Caſtle; there were ſix Braſs Guns and two Mortars in Town, with about 20 Barrels of Powder, 12 Hogſheads of Meal, ſome Wheat, and a great many other things. We loſt in this Action only 12 men, and Lieutenant Col. *Collumbine* with 4 more Officers and 30 Soldiers wounded: The Enemy they ſay loſt 500 at this attack, and as many more during the Siege as made them 1200, amongſt whom were Col. *O Gara*, Col. *Richard Grace*, Col. *Art Oge Mackmahon*, two of the *Mack Gennefs*, and ſeveral others: there were taken Priſoners Major General *Maxwell*, a *French* Adjutant General, Capt. *Dalton*, one Capt. more, and two Lieutenants, with about 60 private Men.

An Expreſs ſent to Saint *Ruth*.

At our mens firſt entering the River, an Expreſs was ſent from the Town to Monſieur St. *Ruth*, then in the *Iriſh* Camp ſigning Articles againſt My Lord *Tyrconel*, as ſome ſay, but going out a ſhooting as others report, who when he heard the news, ſaid *it was impoſſible that the* Engliſh *ſhould pretend to take a Town and he ſo near with an Army to Succour it*, but being very ſoon aſſured that the *Engliſh* were actually poſſeſt of the place, he lamented his misfortune extreamly, and ordered ſeveral Detachments to beat the *Engliſh* out again, but then he was ſenſible of a former overſight, in not demoliſhing thoſe Fortifications of *Athlone* next his own Camp;

Camp, for now the *Engliſh* poſſeſt their own Works entire againſt themſelves. (Tho' ſome ſay that St. *Ruth* had given orders for thoſe Works to be thrown down the next day) ſeveral Parties however of the *Iriſh*, both Horſe and Foot came in all haſt towards the Town, and ſtopt their men that were running away at the furtheſt Trenches: Upon which Col. *Guſtavus Hamilton* advanced with a Party of Granadeers, and there was a pretty warm diſpute for ſome time, and Major General *Maxwell*, newly made a Priſoner, was confident they would beat us out again, but when he ſaw them retreat upon our mens advancing and firing, he was ſoon convinced of his miſtake. *June* 1691.

Athlone, it ſeems in the laſt Wars, was neither well fortified nor provided, for Sir *Charles Coot* with 2000. choice Horſe and as many Foot went towads *Sligoe*, and made a ſhew of ſitting down before it, but ſlipt over the *Curlue* Mountains, and with no great difficulty took *Athlone*, as alſo *Portumna*, whilſt *Ireton* with the main Body of their Army forced *Killalow* Paſs, and ſat down before *Limerick*. But this laſt was an Action that is ſcarce to be parallelled in Hiſtory, that a ſtrong Town ſhou'd be taken by Storm croſs a great and rapid River, when a powerful Army lay within leſs than two Miles to ſupport it; but the ſame providential attendance that waited upon us at firſt, did now and afterwards aſſiſt us.

But it will not be improper to leave the General and his Army for a while at *Athlone*, and ſee what happened in theſe active times in ſeveral other places of the Kingdom, for tho the *Iriſh* had drawn moſt of their Forces towards *Athlone*, with a deſign if poſſible to oppoſe our paſſing the *Shannon*, yet they being at this time all of one ſide, and conſequently

June 1691. ly very numerous, they ordered matters ſo, as a great many Rapparees, and ſome of their Army were left in different parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially in the Counties of *Cork*, *Sligoe*, and *Kerry*, who waited all opportunities to do us what miſchief lay in their power, and this was one reaſon that Col. *Coys* Horſe, and Col. *Matthews* Dragoons, with Col. *Haſtings*, Sir *John Hanmers*, Princeſs *Anns*, Major General *Trelawny's*, Col. *Hale's*, the *Bandenburgh* and *Daniſh* Regiment of Foot were left in the County of *Cork*, as well to keep in the *Iriſh* on that ſide, as to ſecure thoſe Garriſons from any foreign Invaſion. My Lord *Drogheda's* Regement was left in *Weſtmeath*, and Col. *Mitchelburns*, and Col. *Venners* in the North; and beſides thoſe we had in moſt places of the Kingdom under their Majeſties Government a very active Malitia, who were ready on all occaſions to do Service.

A part of our Army left in the Country, and why.

Towards the beginning of *June*, Major *Culliford* with a Party of Col. *Matthews* Dragoons and ſome Militia, make inroads into the Enemies Quarters, and bring ſeveral Preys from thence, but with little loſs of men to either ſide. But hearing that a Party of the Enemys Horſe and Foot, to the number of 2000. or more (as was reported) were ordred to defend a part of the County of *Cork* and that of *Kerry*, from whence the *Iriſh* had got greateſt part of their Relief the preceeding Winter, and were in hopes ſtill ſo to do, Major *Culliford* with 120. of Col. *Matthew's* Dragoons and 50 Militia Foot, ſurpriſed two of the Enemies Troops, killed about 20. and purſued the reſt to *Newmarket*, where we killed 15 more, and took a prey, and after that went four Miles further in hopes of a

Major *Culliford* ſurprizes ſome of the Enemy.

greater

greater, which we met with: But Sir *James Cotter* being nigh the place with about 500. Horſe and Dragoons fell upon our men as they were in diſorder, killed 20 and took as many Priſoners: Major *Culliford* with 80. men made good their retreat, and in the mean time 24. Militia and a 11 Dragoons got to a place called *Drumaugh*, with part of the Prey, and 20. of our men under Capt. *Bower* did the Enemy ſome miſchief in their drawing off, killing 23, or there abouts. The ſame day Col. *Haſtings*, Col. *Ogelby*, &c. with 200. of the Army and 500 Militia, being at *Ballynagooly*, and underſtanding Major *Cullifords* danger, they marched beyond *Balyclough* to his Relief, where the Enemy had lined ſome Hedges, but our men forced them from thence, and that Evening killed 50, next morning relieving thoſe who took unto *Drumaugh*, killing 13, and burning all the Country thereabouts. *June* 1691.

Nigh the ſame time our Militia kill and take ſeveral Rapparees near *Caſhell*, and Major *Welden* with a party from *Mountmelick* kills 14. A party alſo of Col. *Woolſley's* Horſe being Detached to ſcowre the Country about *Bally-Boy* killed 50. Rapparees at ſeveral times.

Judge *Cox* being made Governour of the Militia in the County of *Cork*, Fortifies *Inishean*, and puts a a Gariſon in it, ſending ſome of the Militia under Col. *Townſend* towards *Bantree*, where they killed nigh a 100 Rapparees, and brought off good ſtore of Plunder; and Col. *Haſtings* from *Cork* ſeizes upon *Drummaneer*, a conſiderable Poſt near the *Black Water*.

Judge *Cox* orders *Inishean* to be Fortified.

June the 17. A Party marched from *Caſhel* and *Clonmell*, who were in expectation of meeting with

400.

June 1691. 400. *Irish* nigh *Typerary*, but they having notice of it, withdrew, only our Party met with about 30, most of whom were killed and the Town Burnt. The Rapparees near *Roscreagh* had a design to steal the Cattle of that Town, but in the effecting of it 12. were killed, and the Prey rescued. Capt. *White*, and some of the Militia went towards the *Bogg* of *Allen*, where they killed 13, and the rest with *Mackale* their Leader escaped for that time.

June the 19. A Party of the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment went from *Athy* to a place called *Clonmellera*, having along with them Sir *Thomas Atkins* High Sheriff of the Queens County, and a Party of the Militia; their design was to surprize several notorious Rogues, whom they had information were Harboured in that place; they kill'd about 8. or 10. tho they did not meet with those Rogues that they expected.

June the 20. Two Rapparees were kill'd at *Caperquin*, and two at the *Gualtire*; and nigh the same time there was a party of a ragged *Irish* Regiment called the Prince of *Wales's*, under one *Delany* a *Franciscan* Fryer near *Castle-Town*, not far from *Cashell*, who being frighted with a Rumour that part of our Forces were marching that way, they all indeavour'd to shift for themselves. Three of our *Danes* were surprized near *Clonmell* and carry'd to the Mountains, but they and a Militia Trooper getting loose in a place where the Rapparees had bound them, kill'd three Rapparees and got safe home; Ten more were kill'd near *Thurles*, and Twelve a day or two after near *Bally-Boy*, as also two of *Lutterell's* Dragoons.

My

My Lord *Blaney*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Monahan*, having ordered the Militia of that County to be in Arms, they kill'd 7 Rapparees at one time, and 5 at another in the County of *Monahan*, and two more in the County of *Armagh*; his Lordſhip by his diligence being very inſtrumental in keeping in the *Iriſh* from making Excurſions from thoſe parts about *Sligoe*. And towards the latter end of *June* the Lords Juſtices, by a Proclamation, ordered the Weekly Faſt to be renewed, and every *Friday* to be ſet a part for craving the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, in proſpering of our Fleet and Army. *June* 1691.

CHAP. VI.

The Iriſh *Army Decamp. The Dead buried at* Athlone. *The Enemy reſolve to give us Battle. The Works of* Athlone *repaired. A party of our Horſe ſurprized. The* Iriſh *Priſoners ſent to* Dublin. *The Lords Juſtices Declaration to the* Iriſh. *Our Army march from* Athlone. *The Enemies Camp and Poſture deſcribed. The Orders that Night. Monſieur St.* Ruth's *ſuppoſed Speech to the* Iriſh. *Our Army in ſight of the Enemy. The Line of Battle. The Battle of* Agrim. *A party of our Foot beat off. Reinforced by Major General* Talmaſh, *they beat the Enemy. Monſieur St.* Ruth *kill'd. Their Army Routed. The number of the Dead. And of the Priſoners. Our loſs at the Battle. Inſtances in former Battles, wherein the* Iriſh *have been Routed, with little loſs to the* Engliſh. *An account of ſome* Iriſh *Prophecies. Our Army lye upon their Arms that night. Brigadeer* Eppinger *goes towards* Portumna. Loughrea *deſerted*

July 1691.

by the Iriſh. *Our Army march thither. Then to* Athenree. *The General goes towards* Galway. *The Town deſcribed. Siege laid to it. Major General* Mackay *paſſes the River. A Fort taken. The* Iriſh *beat a parley. Hoſtages exchanged. The Articles of Surrender. Our Army return towards* Limerick. *A Brief account of what happned in other places of the Kingdom, during this Month.*

THE firſt of *July*, My Lord *Portland*'s Regiment of Guards Landed at *Dublin*, and marcht in two or three Days towards the Camp; upon our taking the Town, Monſ. St. *Ruth* with the *Iriſh* Army decamped that night, and marcht towards *Milton* Paſs; and next day about 10 a Clock their Reer Guard of Horſe ſtood on the other ſide of *Melahy*, their Foot vaniſhing out of ſight toward *Balynaſloe*: for Monſieur St. *Ruth*, being out-done in ſo conſiderable a matter as the loſing *Athlone*, he was reſolved to retrieve his loſs or Dye, ſince he could not be anſwerable to his Maſter that imployed him for what had already happened: and therefore he uſed all the means poſſible to ſtrengthen his Army & find out a convenient place of advantage to try his Fortune in, ſince he ſaw that we were not ſhye in affording him opportunities; & now he begins to be very kind to, and familiar with the *Iriſh* Officers, whom formerly he had treated with Diſreſpect and Contempt; and to Careſs the Soldiers, tho a little before, he would Hang a Dozen of them in a morning, for very ſlender faults, as they thought: he draws therefore his Army into the moſt convenient poſture he could, to watch our Motions.

The *Iriſh* Army decamp.

The Dead about *Athlone* Buried.

The firſt thing our General did after the Town was taken, was to order the Dead in and about the Town to be buryed; and in the Evening all our Army was

drawn up, and 41 pieces of Cannon fired three rounds, being ſeconded by the Horſe and Foot, and then followed Bonfires for Joy that the Town was taken, which had coſt us 12000 Cannon Bullets, 600 Bombs, nigh 50 Tun of Powder, and a great many Tun of Stones ſhot out of our Mortars. July 1691.

But after the Town was taken, the Soldiers were many of them unruly, and committed ſeveral outrages; therefore it was given out in Orders that night, that no Soldier ſhould go to the Town, or over the Water, on pain of Death: and the Sutlers that went to *Dublin*, were ordered to go to the Hoſpital, and take up the ſick and wounded Men. And here let me obſerve once for all, that we had much better conveniencies for our Sick and Wounded this Campaign than formerly, having a great many large Tents ſet up in form of a Quadrangle, with Quilts and other conveniencies for every Soldier: nor was Dr. *Lawrence*, Phyſitian to the Army; *Charles Thomſon* Eſquire, Chirurgeon General; Mr *Thomas Proby*, and the reſt of the Chirurgeons wanting in their careful induſtry to recover and heal the Sick and Wounded; which no doubt muſt be a great incouragement to the poor Soldiers, when they know that if any misfortune attends them, they ſhall undoubtedly be taken care for.

The Enemy Reſolve to give us Battle.

July the 2d. We had an account by ſome Deſerters, that the Enemies Foot were gone beyond *Balynaſloe*, and their Horſe were Encampt on this ſide of it; that they reſolved to ſtay thereabouts and Fight us, tho at preſent they were in a great Conſternation, and ſeem'd doubtful of their own performances. A great many of the Country people and Deſerters came hourly in, and the General gave them all protections, aſſuring them that they ſhou'd be kept Inviolable againſt any of our Army or others, reſolving to puniſh the Offenders with Death: but on the other hand expected all con-

July 1691. formity of dutiful Subjects to their Majesties from them: and if any were found to carry Intelligence to the Enemy, or harbour, succour or conceal them, they should suffer Death for it. This day the General had an account from one Capt. *Aughmouty*, that the Enemy had quitted *Lanesborough*, and that he with his Troop had possest himself thereof.

The Works of *Athlone* repaired.

July the 3*d*. The General commanded his Army to begin the repairing the Works of *Athlone*, which were strangely shattered by our Cannon, and not one House left whole in all the Town: Especially the Castle, which was beat down to the ground on the South-east side, as was also the Tower within it; we fell to work therefore, and put some few shattered Houses in a condition to hold our Magazines and Stores, which were daily coming up from *Dublin* and *Mullingar*, and without which we could not march forwards. That morning *William Robinson* Esquire, one of the Pay masters to the Army, came with Money, as also many Waggons and Carts, with Ammunition and other Necessaries. A Trumpeter returns with an answer of a Letter sent to the Enemy, about the exchange of Prisoners.

The Fourth proved very Rainy, yet our Men were imployed in clearing the Streets; repairing the Breaches, and mounting four of the Enemies Guns taken in the Town, upon some of our spare Carriages. That Evening a Party of 20 Horse and ten of *Kirk's* Granadeers mounted were sent out to view the Enemies Camp, being Guided and Commanded by one *Higgins* a Converted Priest; but they fell into an Ambush of 400 of the Enemies Horse, in the Woods of *Clangult*, our men defended a Bridge, and fought stoutly for some time, but were at last broke; 15 kill'd, and 4 taken Prisoners, the rest escaping with *Higgins*, who was sadly Wounded.

A party of our Horse surprized.

The

The 5th. Major General *Maxwell*, and other Priſoners were ſent towards *Dublin*, but ſome of them make their eſcapes. Three out of Col. *Parker's*, and as many out of My Lord *Antrim's* Regiments deſerted to us. The 6th. one of our men taken Priſoner, two days before was releaſed by Lieutenant General *Sheldon*; and that Evening it was given out in Orders, to be ready to march by 5 in the morning, the left Wing over the Pontoons, and the right Wing over the Bridge, which was now repaired, and every Soldier was to have 15 ſhot of Powder. The 7th. the Army marched over the River, and a Priſoner that had made his eſcape going to *Mullingar* was taken nigh *Banober*, and having ſtole a Horſe, he was hanged with a Rapparee, guilty of the like Fact: Capt. *Villers* returns with 30. Horſe from viewing the Enemy ſtill at *Balynaſloe*, and the Militia poſſeſs ſome Paſſes upon the *Shanon*. And becauſe a Declaration publiſhed this day by the Lords Juſtices, by direction from *England*, made a great noiſe, both in the Enemies Camp and ours; as alſo all the Kingdom over, during the remainder of the Campaign, being that upon which the Articles of *Galway* and *Limerick*, and all the *Iriſh* Capitulations were afterwards founded, it will not be amiſs here to give you the Declaration it ſelf, at large as it was Publiſhed.

July 1691.

The Priſoners ſent to Dublin.

By the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, *a Proclamation.*

Charles Porter, Tho. Coningsby.

SInce it hath pleaſed Almighty God to give ſo great Succeſs to their Majeſties Arms, toward the Reduction of the Kingdom of Ireland, *that in all probability the whole muſt in a ſhort time be brought under Their Maje-*

ſties

July 1691. *ſties Obedience, with great Effuſion of Blood and Deſtruction of Their Majeſties Enemies: Their Moſt Excellent Majeſties in Compaſſion to their ſeduced Subjects, to avoid further Effuſion of Blood, and that nothing on Their Majeſties part be wanting to Incourage and Invite all who are now in Arms againſt Them, to ſubject themſelves to Their Obedience and Government, have Commanded us. And we the Lords Juſtices of this Kingdom, by Their Majeſties ſpecial Direction and Command, do by this Our Proclamation Publiſh, Declare, and Promiſe, that All and Every the Private Souldiers, now in Arms againſt Their Majeſties, in the Enemies Army, who ſhall within three Weeks (after the Date of this Our Proclamation) ſurrender up Themſelves, their Horſe, Arms and Furniture, to the Commander in Chief, or any other Their Majeſties Officers, ſhall not only be paid a reaſonable Rate for their Horſe, Arms and Furniture, which they ſhall ſo deliver up, but ſhall be fully and freely Pardoned, of all Treaſons, and other Crimes and Offences againſt Their Majeſties; and that All and Every Perſon or Perſons, who now are Governours, Officers, Commanders or Souldiers of or in any Cities, Towns, Forts, Caſtles, or other Garriſons in Their Kingdom of* Ireland, *not already under Their Majeſties Power and Obedience, who ſhall ſurrender, deliver and yield up any ſuch City, Town, Fort, or Garriſon, unto the General or other Officer of Their Majeſties Army, within three Weeks after the Date of this Our Proclamation; and All other Officers and Souldiers now ſerving or being in the Enemies Army or Quarters, who ſhall within three Weeks time after the Date of this Our Proclamation, come in, and bring with them their Regiments, Troops, or Companies, or ſome conſiderable part thereof, and ſubmit themſelves to Their Majeſties Obedience, and deliver up their Horſes, Arms and Furniture of War, they and every of them, both Officers and Souldiers, ſhall be fully, freely, and abſolutely*

Pardoned

Pardoned of all manner of Treaſons, Crimes or Offences, committed againſt Their Majeſties, Their Crown and Dignity; and ſhall alſo be Reſtored to, and put in Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates forfeited for ſuch Treaſons, Crimes and Offences; and if any Citizens, and Inhabitants, or other Perſons, Reſiding in the City of Limerick, or Town of Galway, ſhall within the time aforeſaid, either of themſelves, or by joyning with any other, be Inſtrumental, or aſſiſting in delivering up either of the ſaid Places, to Their Majeſties Obedience, they and every of them ſhall be likewiſe fully, freely, and abſolutely Pardoned of all manner of Treaſons, Crimes or Offences committed againſt Their Majeſties, Their Crown and Dignity; and ſhall alſo be Reſtored to, and put in Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates forfeited for ſuch Treaſon, Crimes or Offences; and we do hereby further Publiſh and Declare, that if any Officers and Souldiers now in Command in the Enemies Army, or in any of the Cities, Caſtles, Forts, or Garriſons of the Enemy, not having any Eſtates forfeited, or to which he or they can be Reſtored, ſhall render unto Their Majeſties any of the Services aforeſaid, ſuch Perſon and Perſons, Officers and Souldiers, ſhall be fully and liberally Rewarded, by the General of Their Majeſties Army, in ſuch or greater Proportion, as the Services by them done ſhall deſerve; and ſuch of the ſaid Officers and Souldiers as ſhall deſire to Enter into Their Majeſties Pay, ſhall be Received in the like or better Poſt and Condition, as they now Serve under the Enemy; and leſt thoſe who are to take Benefit by this Proclamation may be Apprehenſive of being proſecuted for Exerciſing their Religion, tho Their Majeſties have ſufficiently manifeſted to the World, by the Reſt and Quiet not only Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom, but thoſe of England, have injoyed under Their Government, may be ſufficient to Remove any ſuch Apprehenſions, we are commanded further to Publiſh & Declare; And we do Hereby Publiſh and Declare, that as ſoon

July 1691.

July 1691. *soon as Their Majesties Affairs will permit them, to Summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, They will endeavour to procure them such further Security, in these particulars, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their Religion; and we do hereby Advise and Admonish all such Persons who still Adhere to the Enemy, Carefully and Prudently to consider the ill Estate and Condition whereunto they are Reduced, and seriously to recollect into their Minds and Memory, the Quiet and Blessed Estate and Security which they enjoyed under the* English *Government; and the vast difference betwixt that and the* Tyranny *of* France; *and withal, the terrible Consequences which must follow, if they any longer neglect returning to their Duty, and thereby lose the Benefit of Their Majesties most Benign, and Gracious Compassion and Intention towards them.*

Given at Their Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, the 7*th*. Day of *July*, 1691. in the Third Year of Their Majesties Reign.

God Save the KING *and* QUEEN.

July the 8*th*. all the heavy Baggage was a passing over the River, and it was ordered that the Officers of the Quarter-Guards should go frequent Rounds, and send all the Souldiers they found Gameing, or Drinking, after Taptoe, to the *Provoe's*; the General being much displeased at such Disorders, by means of which a great many irregular things were done, especially, Plundering and Robbing of Tents, which yet was continued (tho several were made Examples) to the very end of the Campaign. It was also ordered that an Account of all those that were killed and wounded, since our coming to this Town, should be returned to the Adjutant Gene-

General, which was about Sixty Killed and a Hundred and Twenty wounded. *July* 1691.

And that the General might leave nothing unattempted which might contribute to the bringing the Enemy over by fair means, he ſettled Allowances of Subſiſtance to all Perſons that would come off, according to their ſeveral Qualifications (*viz.*) Collonels of Horſe, and Dragoons 11 *l.* 10 *s. per* Month; and Foot 10 *l. per* Month, and ſo proportionably to every one.

July the 9*th.* proved a very hot day, till about 5 in the Afternoon, when it fell a Raining, and then ſuch Thunder, Hail, and a Hurrycane of Wind, as the like had ſcarce been ſeen before, this continued for two Hours, in which time two Men, and a Boy, were killed by Lightning, and two or three more hurt in the Prince of *Heſs*'s Regiment. Extraordinary Rains and Thunder.

The Town being now pretty well cleared, and new Works raiſed on *Conaught* ſide. On *Friday* the 10*th.* of *July*, the General having left Col. *Lloyd* Governour of *Athlone*, with his own, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*'s Regiments, he moved forwards with the Army, and Encamped that Night at *Killeaſbel*, 7 Miles nearer to the Enemy, whence the General went to view the Paſs at *Ballynaſloe*, a ſmall Village upon the River *Suck*, where ſtands a Caſtle, built formerly by the Anceſtors of my Lord *Clanrickard*; from hence the Enemy was retired 3 Miles further. Our Army March from *Athlone*.

Saturday the 11*th.* we marcht to *Ballynaſloe*, and encampt along the River *Suck*, upon the *Roſcomon* ſide; this is a good Paſs, and the *Iriſh* might have given us ſome trouble in gaining it; but that they had found out a much better place as will ſoon appear. As our Army was Encamping, our Great Officers went to the Hills of *Knocksdunloe*, in the County of *Galway*, about a Mile diſtant from our Camp, from whence they could

July 1691. ſee the Enemies out-Guards, upon the Hills of *Corbally*, who upon our Approach retired to the *Iſker* of *Liſcappull*, two Miles from *Ballynaſloe*, upon which we advanced to the Hills of *Corbally*, whence we could take a view of the Enemies Camp, which lay on the other ſide *Aghrim* Caſtle, three Miles beyond *Balynaſloe*, and extended it ſelf from the Church of *Killcommodon*, on their Right, to a place called *Gourtnapory*, above two Miles in length: on their Left ran a ſmall Brook, having ſteep Hills, and little Boggs on each ſide, next to which was a large Red Bogg, almoſt a Mile over, at the end of which ſtood the Caſtle of *Aghrim*, Commanding the way to their Camp, paſſable for Horſe, no where but juſt at the Caſtle, by reaſon of a ſmall River, which running through a moiſt Ground, made the whole a Moraſs or Bogg, which extended it ſelf all along to the Enemies Right, where was alſo another Paſs called *Urachree*, having a riſing Ground on each ſide of it; the Enemies Camp lay along the Ridge of an Hill, on the ſide of which ſtood two *Daniſh* Forts, from thence to the Bogg below was nigh half a Mile, and this cut into a great many ſmall Encloſures, which the Enemy had ordered ſo as to make a Communication from one of them to another, and had lined all thoſe very thick with Small Shot; this ſhewed a great deal of Dexterity in Monſieur St. *Ruth*, in making choice of ſuch a piece of Ground as Nature it ſelf could not furniſh him with a better, conſidering all Circumſtanſtances; for he knew that the *Iriſh* naturally loved a Breaſt-work between them and Bullets, and here they were fitted to the purpoſe, with Hedges and Ditches to the very edge of the Bog.

The Enemies Camp, and Poſture deſcrib'd.

The General upon viewing the Poſture of the Enemy, and a Map given him of the Ground, he found it no eaſie matter to Attack them; but reſolved however to march

march toward them next day; and therefore it was given out in Orders at Night, that all the Army (except two Regiments left to Guard the Baggage) should be under Arms next Morning without beat of Drum, and no Baggage to ſtir, nor any Tents to be removed, nor yet any to march with the Regiments but ſuch as carry Arms, and thoſe to march as ſtrong as poſſible, with all their Arms fixt and clean; thoſe that wanted Ammunition were preſently to have it from the Stores; the Granadiers were to be drawn to the Right and Left of each Regiment, with two Shells a piece, and five Pyoniers to be ready at the Head of each Regiment when called for; the *Word*, that Night, was *Dublin*. *July* 1691. The Orders that Night.

Monſieur *St. Ruth*, at the approach of our Army, ſeeing us reſolved to give him Battel, he gave his Men all the due Encouragement that poſſibly he could, ordering Maſſes and Prayers to be ſaid in all Parts of the Army. And as the Report goes, the *Iriſh* were obliged by their Prieſts not to give Quarter to any Soul living, but to purſue every Man to Deſtruction, they being aſſured of a moſt glorious Victory; and *St. Ruth* himſelf is ſaid to have made the following Speech, to the *Iriſh*, the day before the Battel, it being found afterwards amongſt the Papers of his Secretary, who was killed in the Field.

Gentlemen and Fellow Souldiers,

I Suppoſe it is not unknown to you, and the whole Chriſtian World, what Glory I have acquired, and how Succeſsful and Fortunate I have been in Suppreſſing Hereſie *in* France, *and propagating the* Holy Catholick Faith, *and can without Vanity boaſt my Self the happy Inſtrument of bringing over thouſands of poor deluded Souls from their* Monſieur *St. Ruths* ſuppoſed Speech to the *Iriſh*.

July 1691. errours, who owe their Salvation to the pious care of my thrice Illustrious Master, and my own Industry, assisted by some holy Members of our unspotted Church: while great numbers of those incourigable Hereticks have perished both Soul and Body by their obstinacy.

It was for this reason that the most Puissant King my Master, Compassionating the miseries of this Kingdom, hath chosen me before so many worthy Generals to come hither, not doubting but by my wonted Diligence I should Establish the Church in this Nation, on such a foundation as it should not be in the power of Hell or Hereticks hereafter to disturb it: And for the bringing about of this Great and Glorious Work, next the Assistance of Heaven, the unresistable Puisance of the King my Master, and my own Conduct; the great dependance of all good Catholicks is on your Courage.

I must confess since my coming amongst you, things have not answered my wishes, but they are still in a posture to be retrieved, if you will not betray your Religion and Countrey, by an unseasonable Pusilanimity.

I'm assured by my Spyes, that the Prince of Oranges Heretical Army, are resolved to give us Battle, and you see them even before you ready to perform it. It is now therefore, if ever that you must indeavour to recover your lost Honour, Priviledges and Fore-fathers Estates: You are not Mercinary Souldiers, you do not fight for your Pay, but for your Lives, your Wives, your Children, your Liberties, your Countrey, your Estates; and to restore the most Pious of Kings to his Throne: But above all for the propagation of the Holy Faith, and the subversion of Heresie. Stand to it therefore my Dears, and bear no longer the Reproaches of the Hereticks, who Brand you with Cowardise, and you may be assured that King James will Love and Reward you: Louis the Great will protect you; all good Catholicks will applaud you; I my self will

Lievt: Generall Ginckell

The Duke of Wirtemberg

Lievt: Generall Scravemore

Brigadeer Villers

Major Gen.l Mackay

Brigadeer Bellasis

Major Generall Tetteau

Brigadeer La Meloniere

Major Gen.l La fforrest

Brigadeer Eppinger

First Line		y.e Right Wing		y.e Left Wing	
Leveson		Kirk		La Meloniere	Eppinger
Winn		Sir Hamblet.n		Du Cambon	Eppinger
Ruvigny		Kerbert		Belcastell	Monpouillan
Langston		Foulks		Greben	Bonneur
Oxford		Bellasis		Danish	Donep
Villers		Brever		Danish	Schefter
				Danish	La Forrest

Major Generall Ruvigny

Brigadeer Leveson

Major Generall Talmash

Brigadeer Stuart

Major Gen.l Count Nassau

Prince of Hesse Brigadeer

Major Gen.l Holstaple

Brigadeer Schack

Second Line						
Cuningham		Stuart		Nassau		Schack
Winn		Earle		Loyd		Nienheuse
Lanier		Tiffin		Prince of Hesse		Zulistein
Woolsley		late Hamblet.n		Lt.d Cutts		Redesell
Byerley		S.r Johnes		Danish		Rinkell
		Lisburne		Danish		Eppinger
		Meath		Danish		

THE LINE OF BATTLE. July 12. 1691.

124.

will Command you; the Church will pray for you, your Posterity will bleſs you; Saints and Angels will Careſs you; God will make you all Saints, and his holy Mother will lay you in her Boſome. July 1691.

Titus Livius before a Battle, frequently brings in the *Roman* Generals ſaying a great many fine things, and making long Speeches, which poſſibly they never dreamt of, tho moſt of them were well bredmen; and if they did make uſe of thoſe Speeches, that way of treating Armies is now quite out of Faſhion, eſpecially it's improbable it ſhould be done by a General, who underſtood as little *Iriſh* as moſt of his Army did *French*: Nor is it to be believed that Monſieur St. *Ruth* was a man of that Boaſting vain-glorious humour that this Speech makes him, tho I have heard from ſome of the *Iriſh* Officers ſince, that he told them they had gained the Character of Cowards both at home and abroad, and now was their time to retrieve it, and that they Fought for their Religion, King and Country, *&c.* However it was, all who ſaw the ſpot of Ground he had made Choice of, can but admire his Conduct in this particular: And no doubt his Army had all the Maſſes, Perſuaſions, and other incouragements that could be thought of; amongſt the reſt that powerful one of Brandy, which made a Dragoon of ours tell ſome of their Priſoners after the Battle, that they had the advantage of us, both in Prayers and Brandy: The *Engliſh* being indeed too remiſs in point of Devotion, not looking up to that Power, to which we are moſt indebted, for all that we can pretend to that's Good.

Our Army march in ſight of the Enemy.

But to return to our own Army, *Sunday* July the 12. about Six in the Morning we marcht, the Foot over the Bridge; the *Engliſh* and *French* Horſe at the Foord above, and the Dutch and *Danes* over two Foords below, with directions to put themſelves in order of Battle

July 1691. tle when all paſt the River, which was done on a kind of uneven hilly Ground, and the method being agreed before, the two lines of Battle were thus, as in the Copper Plate are deſcribed.

It's to be obſerved that My Lord *Portland*'s Horſe is not in this Line of Battle, becauſe they came not up till after it was ordered; however they had their full ſhare in the Action, and Col. *Foulks*'s Regiment was always to guard the Train, but being then convenient for it, and the General reſolving to make all the Force he could, they had alſo their part, both of the Honour and Service of the Action. And tho Brigadeer *Stuart* is there ſet down, it's only as to his Poſt, for he was then at *Dublin* ill of his Wounds received at *Athlone*. Col. *Lloyds* Regiment was alſo in Gariſon at *Athlone*, and two more left at *Balynaſloe*, ſo that we were not altogether ſo ſtrong as this Line of Battle makes us.

In this order (the Morning proving Foggy) our Army ſtood till nigh 12 a Clock, and then were Commanded to Advance, the General going with a party before to view the Enemy, and perceiving ſome of their out Scouts upon the Hills, ordered a party to beat them thence, upon whoſe advance the Enemy retired from place to place, till they were within half a Mile of their Camp, by which means the General had an opportunity from an high Hill to the Right of the Enemy, to view their whole Army, poſted as before deſcribed: by which poſture, they had the advantage by at leaſt 1000 men, but being aſſured of the valour of his Army, the General reſolved to draw nearer, and expect what further opportunities of advantage might offer, in order to which, and for the ſecurity of our own Army, he ſaw the neceſity of gaining that Paſs to the Right of the Enemy, called *Urachree*, where the *Iriſh* had ſome men poſted, he ſent therefore a *Daniſh* Captain with 16 Troopers to force it, but

but the men run away from a leſs number than themſelves, tho the Officer behaved himſelf very well, and the reſt retrieved their Honour afterwards; upon this the General ordered two Hundred of Sir *Albert Cunninghams* Dragoons to march to certain Ditches, nigh the ſaid Foord, to keep the Enemy from coming over, and in the mean time our Army was marching forwards; by this time it was Two a Clock, and the General finding the neceſſity of having that Foord, and other ways that led to the Right of the Enemy, as the moſt proper ways to aſſault them, he ordered *Cunninghams* Dragoons, at the Ditch, to advance towards a Party of the Enemy that ſtood on the other ſide, & were ſuſtained by a conſiderable Body, behind the Houſe of *Uraebree*, all which, at the advancing of our Dragoons, retired behind an Hill nigher their Camp, and where a greater Body was poſted; then ſome of our Dragoons preſſing on too far were obliged to retreat a little diſorderly, the Enemy ſuſtaining their Men by ſeveral freſh Parties, which the General perceiving, he ordered Briggadeer *Eppinger's* Dragoons to get between them and their Camp; but this was diſcovered by the Enemy, who had the advantage of pouring in ſo many Men upon us that they would have been too hard for our Dragoons ſtill, if they had not been quickly ſeconded by greateſt part of the Earl of *Portlands* Horſe, who behaved themſelves with great Bravery, and loſt ſeveral Men and Horſes in this part of the Action: And what was at firſt only a Skirmiſh, had by this time engaged a conſiderable Body on both ſides, freſh Parties being ſtill ſent out, tho after about an hours diſpute, the Enemy were obliged to retire in ſome Diſorder, over the Brook, that flanked the Right of their Army, no conſiderable dammage being done as yet to either ſide.

July 1691.

Then

July 1691. Then all things ſeemed pretty quiet for a while, and our General Officers coming together, began to conſult whither it was fit to give the Enemy Battel that Night, conſidering the diſadvantages we were to expect in Attacking them, ſome therefore were for deferring the Battle that Night, and ſo to fall on by break of day next Morning, which was ſo far agreed to as that our Tents were ordered to be ſent for, and pitched along the other ſide the Bogg; but then perceiving the Enemy to be in ſome Diſorder, by what had already happened, they concluded not to delay their Attack, leſt the Enemy ſhould March off in the Night, and ſo afford us no more opportunities; it was therefore agreed to proſecute the Battel on the Enemies Right, by that means propoſing to draw part of their ſtrength from *Aghrim* Caſtle, nigh which their main Body was poſted, that ſo our Right might have the eaſier Paſſage over to Attack their Left, and then our whole Army might have opportunity to engage. This (I am told) was the Advice of Major General *Mackay*; a Man of great Judgement, and long Experience, and it had its deſired Succeſs.

Our Army was diſpoſed of as you ſee in the Line of Battel, only the General moved up and down as he ſaw occaſion, as did alſo the reſt of the General Officers; and before the Battel began, there was no diſtance left between the firſt and ſecond Line, ſince a great part of the ſecond Line were the firſt that engaged. The *Iriſh* Army was commanded by Monſieur St. *Ruth*, Lieutenant General *D'uſſon*, Monſieur *De Teſſee*, Lieutenant General *Sarſefield*, Major General *John Hambleton*, Major General *Dorington*, and ſeveral other.

About half an hour paſt Four in the Afternoon, a part of our Left Wing moved towards the Enemy, and by Five the Battel began a freſh. A Party of our Foot marched

marched up to their Ditches, all ſtrongly guarded with Musketiers, and their Horſe poſted advantageouſly to ſuſtain them: here we fired one upon another for a conſiderable time, and the *Iriſh* behaved themſelves like Men of another Nation, defending their Ditches ſtoutly; for they would maintain one ſide, till our Men put their Pieces over at the other, and then having Lines of Communication, from one Ditch to another, they would preſently poſt themſelves again, and flank us; this occaſioned great firing on both ſides, which continued on the Left nigh an hour and an half, e're the Right of our Army, or the Centre engaged, except with their Cannon, which played on both ſides. All this while our Men were coming up in as good Order as the Inconveniency of the Ground would allow, and now Major General *Mackay*, and the reſt, ſeeing the Enemy draw off ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot from the Left, and move towards their Right, where our Men preſſed them very hard; they laid hold on that advantage, and ordered the Foot to march over the Bogg, which fronted the Enemies main Battel. Colonel *Earl*, Colonel *Herbert*, Colonel *Creighton*, and Colonel *Brewers* Regiments went over at the narroweſt place where the Hedges on the Enemies ſide run furtheſt into the Bogg. Theſe four Regiments were ordered to march to the loweſt of the Ditches, adjoining to the ſide of the Bogg, and there to poſt themſelves till our Horſe could come about by *Aghrim* Caſtle, and ſuſtain them, and till the other Foot had marched over the Bogg below, where it was broader, and were ſuſtained by Col. *Foulk*'s, and Brigadeer *Stewarts*. Col. *Earl* advanced with his Regiment, and the reſt after him, over the Bogg, and a Rivulet that ran through it, being moſt of them up to their Middles in Mudd and Water. The *Iriſh* at their near approach to the Ditches, fired upon them, but our Men contemning all Diſadvantages, ad-

July 1691.

July 1691. vanced immediately to the loweſt Hedges, and beat the *Iriſh* from thence. The Enemy however did not retreat far, but poſted themſelves in the next Ditches before us: which our Men ſeeing, and diſdaining to ſuffer their Lodging ſo near us, they would needs beat them from thence alſo, and ſo from one Hedge to another, till they were got very nigh the Enemies main Battel. But the *Iriſh* had ſo ordered the matter, as to make an eaſie Paſſage for their Horſe, amongſt all thoſe Hedges and Ditches, by which means they poured in great numbers both of Horſe and Foot upon us: which Colonel *Earl* ſeeing, encouraged his Men, by advancing before them, and ſaying, *There was no way to come off but to be Brave.* As great an Example of true Courage and Generoſity as any Man this Day living. But being both flanked and fronted, as alſo expoſed to all the Enemies Shot from the adjacent Ditches; our Men were forced to quit their Ground, and betake themſelves to the Bogg again, whither they were followed, or rather drove down by main ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, and a great many killed. Colonel *Earl*, and Colonel *Herbert*, were here taken Priſoners; the former, after twice taking and retaking, got free at laſt, tho not without being wounded.

A Party of our Foot beat back.

Whilſt this was a doing here, Col. St. *Johns*, Col. *Tiffin*, Lord *George Hambleton*, the *French*, and ſeveral other Regiments, were marching over below upon the ſame Bogg. The *Iriſh*, in the mean time, laid ſo cloſe in their Ditches, that ſeveral were doubtful whether they had any Men at that place or not: but they were convinced of it at laſt; for no ſooner were the *French*, and the reſt, got within twenty yards, or leſs, of the Ditches, but the *Iriſh* fired moſt furiouſly upon them; which our Men as bravely ſuſtained, and preſſed forwards, tho they could ſcarce ſee one another for Smoak.

And

And now the thing ſeemed ſo doubtful for ſome time, that the By-ſtanders would rather have given it on the *Iriſh* ſide; for they had driven our Foot in the Centre ſo far back, that they were got almoſt in a Line, with ſome of our Great Guns, planted near the Bogg, which we had not the Beneſit of at that Juncture, becauſe of the mixture of our Men and theirs. *July* 1691.

M. G. *Ruvigny's French* Horſe, and Sir *John Laniers*, being both poſted on the Right, were afterwards part of them drawn to the Left, where they did very good Service. And the Right Wing of our Horſe, in the mean time were making what haſte they could to ſuccour our Foot; for ſeeing their Danger, and indeed that all was in hazard by reaſon of the Difficulty of the Paſs, they did more than Men, in preſſing and tumbling over a very dangerous place, and that amongſt Showrs of Bullets, from a Regiment of Dragoons, and two Regiments of Foot, poſted conveniently under Cover, by the Enemy, to obſtruct our Paſſage. Our Horſe, at this place, were ſuſtained by Major General *Kirke*, and Colonel *Guſtavus Hambleton's* Foot, who, after we had received the Enemies Fire, for a conſiderable time, marched under the Walls of the Caſtle, and Lodged themſelves in a dry Ditch, in the throng of the Enemies Shot from the Caſtle, and ſome other old Walls, and Hedges, adjoining. Thoſe that have ſeen the place, and conſidered the Diſadvantages that our Men had at ſuch a Juncture to encounter withal, muſt needs Acknowledge the Action very Brave. For its reported, that Monſieur St. *Ruth*, ſeeing our Horſe draw that way, and then begin to ſcramble over at a place where only two a Breaſt could paſs, and that too with great difficulty; after all which, they had no other way to march, but to go within thirty yards of the Caſtle. The *French*

Our Horſe paſs the Bogg, near the Caſtle of Agh[illegible]

July 1691. General ſeeing our Men attempt to do this, askt *What they meant by it?* And being anſwered, That they would certainly endeavour to paſs there, and Attack him on the Left; he is ſaid to reply with an Oath, *They are brave Fellows, its a pity they ſhould be ſo expoſed*, or Words to that purpoſe.

Our Horſe, with much difficulty, made good that Paſs; Sir *Francis Compton*, with my Lord of *Oxford*'s Regiment, being one of the firſt that could be in a poſture to Engage, he fell at Random in amongſt the Enemy, and charged them briskly, with Sword in Hand: and tho his Men were once or twice Repulſed, yet being ſeconded with part of Major General *Ruvigny*'s Horſe, Colonel *Langſton*'s, and ſome of Colonel *Byerley*'s Horſe; as alſo Brigadeer *Leveſon*'s Dragoons, they ſoon made Good their Party on that ſide, tho' not without the loſs of ſeveral both Men and Horſes.

Major General *Talmaſh* Succours our Foot.

Then Major General *Talmaſh*, ſeeing the Diſadvantage our Foot laboured under in the Centre, he ſhewed at once an extream concern for his Countrymens being repulſed, and as much Generoſity and Courage, by haſtning to Succour thoſe that at that time ſtood moſt in need of it; coming up therefore in all haſte, with ſome freſh Men, he gave Orders for our broken Regiments to halt, and face about, which they did immediately, and returned the ſame Meaſure to the *Iriſh*, that ſome of themſelves had met withal, the very Minute before, that is, they knockt them on the Head; for the *Iriſh* followed us toward the Centre of the Bogg, which tho not two hundred yards from the loweſt Ditches, yet before the Enemy could recover thoſe again, our Men had killed above three hundred of them, and then marched boldly up to their old Ground again, from whence they had been lately beat: which

is

is only natural to *Engliſh* Men; for it's obſervable, that they are commonly fiercer, and bolder, after being repulſed than before; and what blunts the Courage of all other Nations, commonly whets theirs, I mean the killing of their Fellow Soldiers before their Faces. *July* 1691.

At the ſame time, Major General *Mackay* had fallen upon the Enemy with a good Body of Horſe on their Left, and then Major General *Ruvigny* went along the ſide of the Bogg, with another Party of Horſe, who did extraordinary Service, bearing down all before them: then the Horſe and Foot of our Right, and their Left mixing, there was nothing but a continued fire, and a very hot diſpute all along the Line. The *Iriſh* indeavouring to defend their Ditches, and our men as forward to beat them from thence. But the thing was doubtful not much longer, for Monſ. St. *Ruth*, when he firſt ſaw our Foot in the Centre repulſed, in a great Ecſtaſy, told thoſe next him, *that he wou'd now beat our Army back to the Gates of* Dublin. But ſeeing our Horſe preſs over towards the Caſtle, he ordered a Brigade of his own Horſe to march up; then Riding to one of his Batteries, and giving orders to the Gunner where to fire, he was marching towards the place where he ſaw us indeavour to come over, but was killed with a great Shot from one of our Batteries, as he rid down the Hill of *Killkomodon*, the place where the main ſtreſs of the Battle was fought, being juſt under the Enemies Camp. When Monſieur St. *Ruth* fell, one of his Retinue threw a Cloak upon his Corps, and ſoon after removed him beyond the Hill, his Guard going off at the ſame time, which the *Iriſh* Horſe perceiving, a great many of them drew off alſo. Monſieur St. *Ruth* killed.

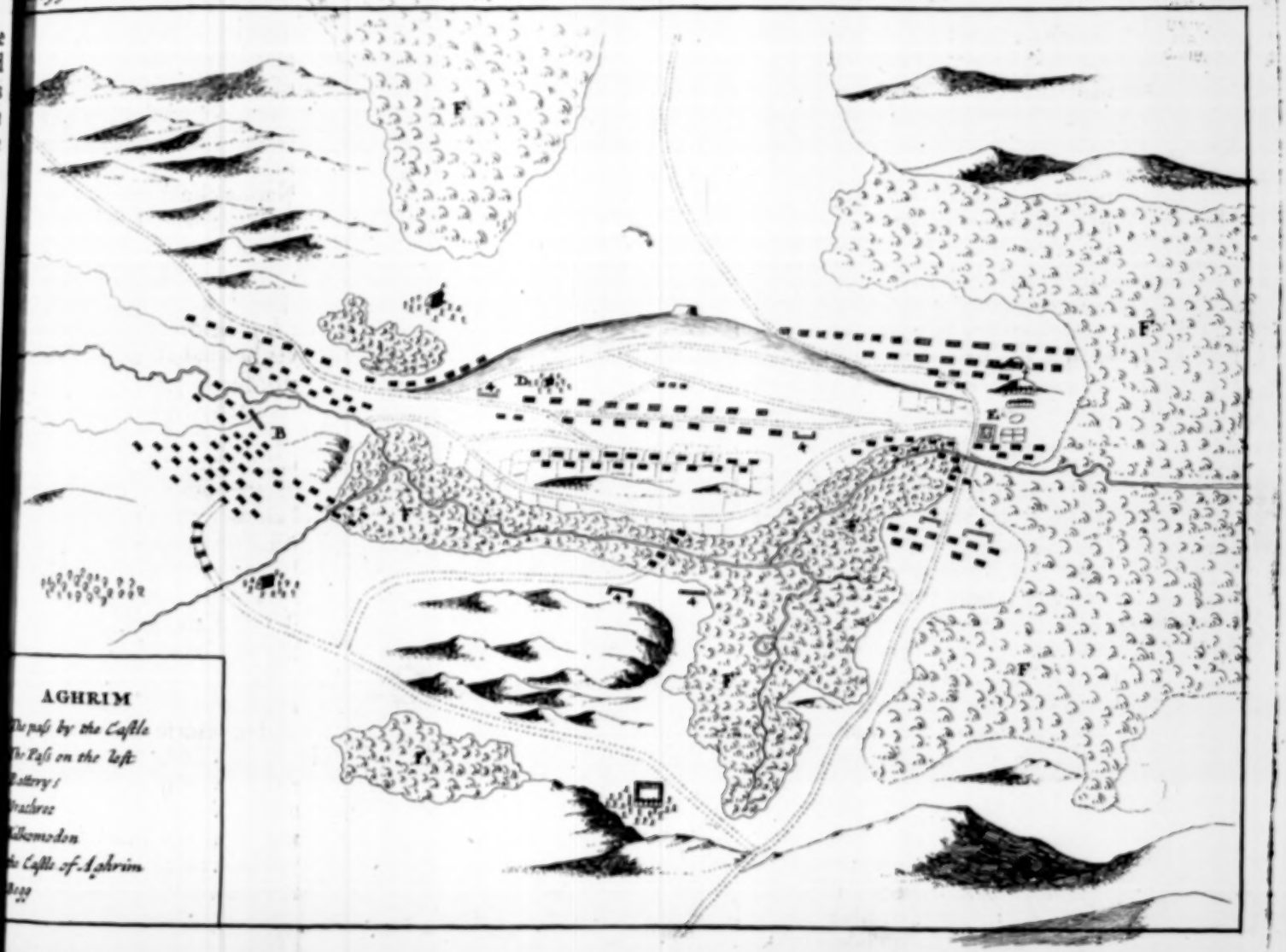
I never could learn what became of his Corps, ſome ſay that he was left ſtript amongſt the other dead, when

our

July 1691. our men purſued beyond the Hill; and others that he was thrown into a Bogg: However tho the man had an ill Character in being one of the greateſt Perſecutors of the Proteſtants in *France*, yet, we muſt allow him to be very brave in his Perſon, and indeed conſiderable in his Conduct, ſince he brought the *Iriſh* to fight a better Battle, than ever their Nation could boaſt of before. And this was the reaſon, as the *Iriſh* report, that the General being killed, tho it was not preſently known, yet their Army was ſoon in Confuſion for want of Orders, and ſo the Horſe forced to draw off. But the truth of it was, the *Iriſh* before they began to ſhrink, had behaved themſelves beyond all expectation, and had fought longer than ordinary; yet when they ſaw our Horſe come over ſo dangerous a Paſs, and our Foot in the Centre Rally, and reſolve to dye every man rather than be beat back again; the *Iriſh* then thought they muſt be beat if the other would not: ſo that notwithſtanding all their advantages of Hedges and Ground, Sun and Wind, they were forced to quit one advantagious Poſt, and after that another, till being beat from Ditch to Ditch, they were driven up to the Top of the Hill of *Killkomodon*, where their Camp had laid, which being levelled, and they expoſed to our Shot more openly, they began now to run down right; the Foot towards a great Bogg behind them on their Left, and the Horſe on the High-way towards *Loughreagh*.

The *Iriſh* Army Routed.

During all this ſtir, and noiſe, on the Right and Centre of the Army, thoſe towards our Left, that firſt Engaged, kept their Ground, and not much Action happened there for near two Hours paſt; nor did the *Daniſh* Horſe and Foot that were on the Left of all, diſturb the Enemy as yet, but ſtood oppoſite to ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot, that faced them on the


F
F
B
D
E
F
F
F
F
AGHRIM
The pass by the Castle
The Pass on the left
Battery
Trachree
Kilkomodon
the Castle of Aghrim
Bogg

the other ſide the ſmall Brook: But then perceiving *Mackay's* Battallions to drive the Enemy before them, leſt thoſe Bodies that faced them ſhould have fallen back to the Relief of their flying Party, they then engaged them, and for about half an hour there was pretty hot work. But the Enemy being then in a declining Condition, and preſſed hard on all ſides, they fled all out of the Field; their Foot were miſerably ſlaughtered by our Horſe and Dragoons, as they made towards the Bogg, and their Horſe were purſued nigh three Miles: but the Night coming on, with a thick Miſty Rain, prevented us from getting between them and a very Advantageous Paſs, nigh *Loughbreagh*; ſo that moſt of them eſcaped; the Night, alſo and the Bogg, ſaved the Lives of many Thouſands of their Foot; for our Forreigners, and eſpecially the *Daniſh* Horſe, are excellent Purſuers. *July* 1691.

The *Iriſh* upon their advantage in the Centre of the Battle, had taken ſome Priſoners (as has been ſaid) but not being able to carry them off, they killed Col. *Herbert* and one or two more; which ſeveral have lookt upon as a piece of cruelty: and yet it's no more than what has been often practiſed in ſuch Caſes, and that to a greater degree; for at the Battle of *Agincourt*, Fought between *Hen.* 5*th.* of *England*, and *Charles* the 6*th.* of *France* upon the 24*th.* of *Octob.* 1414. the number of the Priſoners taken by the *Engliſh*, being very great, and King *Henry* after the Battle, perceiving freſh Troops of the King of *Sicill's* to appear in the Field, and theſe ſtrong enough without any new rallyed Forces to Encounter his wearied Soldiers; that he might not therefore have both Priſoners to Guard, and an Enemy to fight at once, he commanded every man to kill his Priſoner, contrary to his Generous Nature; which

was

July 1691. was immediately done, ſome principal men excepted: and then upon his Meſſage to the Enemy either to Fight or immedately to quit the Field, they choſe the latter: And ſome ſay that My Lord *Galmay* had hard meaſure from ſome of our Foreign Toopers, who kill'd him after he had ſurrendered himſelf a Priſoner; not to themſelves, but to ſome others.

The place where this Battle was fought, will make a noiſe in Hiſtory for the future, tho there's nothing worth taking notice of near it: For that which they call the Caſtle of *Aghrim* is only an old ruinous Building, with ſome Walls and Ditches about it, and never has been a place of any Strength, only as it's ſeated upon a Paſs. There are about half a ſcore little Cabbins on the other ſide a ſmall Brook, with the Ruins of a little Church, and a Priory Dedicated to St. *Catherine*, and founded by the *Butlers*; the whole being at this day the Eſtate of the D. of *Ormond*.

Aghrim Caſtle taken. After things went clear on our ſide, this old Caſtle was taken, and a great many put the Sword in it. Col. *Burk* the Commander, his Major, Eleven Officers more, and Forty Soldiers were made Priſoners.

In this Battle, we took from the Enemy nine pieces of Braſs Cannon, which they had planted at ſeveral places to their greateſt advantage; all their Ammunition, Tents and Baggage, with moſt of their ſmall Arms, which they threw away, to run the faſter; we took alſo Eleven Standards, and thirty two pair of Colours: The General rewarding every one that brought any in the next day, and ſent them afterwards by my Lord *O Bryan*, as a preſent to Her Majeſty. We killed ſeven Thouſand of the *Iriſh* upon the Spot, as was generally believed, and there could

The number of the Dead.

not

not be many fewer, for looking amongst the Dead three days after, when all our own and some of theirs were buried, I reckoned in some small Inclosures 150 in others 120, &c. lying most of them by the Ditches where they were Shot; and the rest from the top of the Hill where their Camp had been, looked like a great Flock of Sheep, shattered up and down the Countrey, for almost four Miles round: And the *Irish* themselves, tho they will not allow so many to be killed, yet they own, that they lost more, which they could never have any account of, except they stole home privately, or else turned Rapparees. We took also above four hundred and fifty Prisoners, of the chief of whom, and those killed, there was shortly after a List, in Print, which time has informed me of some mistakes in, tho possibly there may be some as yet remaining.

The General and Field Officers taken Prisoners, 26. (viz.)

Lord *Duleek.*
Lord *Slane.*
Lord *Buffin.*
Sir *Nicholas Brown* alias Lord *Killmare.*
Major General *Dorrington.*
Major Gen. *John Hamleton.*
Brigadeer *Tuite.*
Col. *Walter Bourk.*
Col. *Gordon O Neal.*
Col. *Butler* of *Kilkash.*
Col. *O Connel.*
Col. *Edmund Maddlen.*
Lieut. Col. *John Chappel.*
Lieut. Col. *John Butler.*
Lieut. Col. *Baggot.*
Lieut. Col. *John Border.*
Lieut. Col *Mack Gennis.*
Lieut. Col. *Rossiter.*
Lieut. Col. *Mack Guire.*
Major *Patrick Lawless.*
Major *Kelly.*
Major *Grace.*
Major *William Bourk.*
Major *Edmund Butler.*
Major *Edmund Broghill.*
Major *John Hewson*, with 30 Captains, 25 Lieutenants, 23 Ensig. 5 Cor. 4 Quarter-masters, and an Adjutant.

KILLED.

Monſieur St. *Ruth* General of the *Iriſh* Army.
Lord *Killmallock*,
Lord *Galway*.
Brigadeer *Connel*.
Brigad. *W. Mansfield Barker*.
Brigad. *Hen. Mack J. O Neal*.
Col. *Charles More*, his Lieut. Col. and Major.
Col. *David Bourk*,
Col. *Ulick Bourk*,
Col. *Cohanaught Macguire*.
Col. *James Talbot*.
Col. *Arthur*.
Col. *Mahoony*.
Lieut. Col. *Morgan*.
Major *Purcel*.
Major *O Donnell*.
Sir *John Everard*, with ſeveral others, not yet known, beſides at leaſt five hundred Captains and Subaltern Officers.

We loſt Seventy Three Officers, who were killed in this Action, with an Hundred and Eleven Wounded. Six Hundred Soldiers were Killed, and Nine Hundred and Sixty Wounded, as appears by the inſerted Liſts of both Horſe and Foot, given in two days after, by the General's Command, and ſent to the King. Nor are we to imagine the Number of the Dead exceeded the Liſts given in, but rather the contrary, ſince whatever men were wanting before, it was a good opportunity to fix them here: Greateſt part of our Wounded Men recovered again, and ſeveral of them were actually upon ſervice before the Siege of *Limerick* was ended. Amongſt our dead were Major General *Holſtaple*, who commanded the Earl of *Portland's* Horſe, Col. *Herbert*, Col. *Mongatts*, Major *Devoniſh*, Major *Cornwal*, Major *Fox*, and Major *Colt*.

An

An Account of what Officers and Soldiers belonging to the Foot, were Killed and Wounded in each Regiment, at the Battle of *Aghrim*, July 12. 1691.

IN	Col.		L. Col.		Majors		Capt.		Lieut.		Enfign		Soldiers	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Kirk's Regim.	1						1			2		1	7	10
Col. *Guft. Hamil.*													6	9
Ld. *Geo. Hamb.*		1									1		9	45
Col. *Herbert's*	1						3			1			12	45
Sir *Hen. Ballaſ*						1					1		2	23
Col. *Brewer's*					1		1			1	1			7
Brigad. *Stuart*					1			1			1	1	16	43
Col. *Earl.*		1			1		2	1	1	2			17	70
Col. *Tiffin.*													19	40
Col. *Creighton*							2			1		1	12	14
Col. *St. John.*		1					1	2	2	5		4	13	54
Ld. *Lisburn.*							1			1	2		16	64
Ld. *Meath's.*						1		2		1		1	7	8
Col. *Foulks.*				1	1		1		2	1		1	15	40
Lord *Cutts.*		1				1		1		3		4	16	39
Count *Nafſau.*												1	5	12
Prince of *Heſſ.*		1						1		2		2	10	45
La *Melloneir.*								1			1		8	4
Cambon.							1	4	1	4	2	4	0	35
Belcaſſle.		1		1				9	1	6		5	21	54
Groben.								2	1	3		4	10	50
The *Danes.*	1		1						1	2			6	0
Foot in all.	2	6	1	2	4	3	13	24	9	35	9	28	337	781
Horſe in all.	1					1	6	5	15	3	13	4	65	125
Horſe and Foo	3	6	1	2	4	4	19	29	24	38	22	32	400	906

A List of the Officers. Troopers, and Horses, Killed and Wounded at the Battel of *Aghrim*.

		Col.		Majors		Capt.		Lieut.		Corn.		Troopers		Horses.	
				Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Villers Brig.	Oxford.	—	—		—	1	—	2	—	1		45	21	24	—
	Villers.	—	—		—	1	1	2	1	1		26	22	—	41
	Langston.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	10	—	12
	Ruvigny.	—	—	—	—	2	2	9	1	9	1	40	9	26	15
						4	3	13	2	11	1	118	62	50	132
Levesons Br.	Lanier.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	5	11	24
	Byerly.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	5	14
	Woolsley.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	10
		—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	5	23	48
Eppingers Brig.	La Forrest.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	12	3	—	—
	Donep.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	9	10	—	—
	Scescad.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2	—	
	Boncur.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—
	Portland. *M. G.* Holstyle *kil.*				—	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	6	34	16
		—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	54	23	34	16
Schacks Brigade.	Monopullan.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Ginckel.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
	Schack.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	6
	Reidesel.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	6
	Neveuheuse.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	5
	Rheiteren.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	8
		—	—	—	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	4	3	4	25
Dragoons.	Eppinger.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	0	—
	Leveson.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	5	—	—
	Cunningham.	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	41	27	—	—
	Winn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
In all				1	1	0	5	15	3	13	4	263	125	111	221

The

The Line of Battel will direct you how many Regiments we had in the Fight, and conſidering all Circumſtances, they could not make up ſeventeen thouſand Horſe and Foot. The *Iriſh* were nigh Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Five Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, as appears from the moſt Rational Accounts that can be gathered from the number of their Regiments, and the Confeſſion of their own Officers; ſo that it may ſeem incredible to a great many, that in ſo long and ſharp an Engagement, with ſo great odds and diſadvantages, that we had not a great many more Men killed and wounded on our ſide. But this is not ſo great a wonder in this Kingdom, if we'll look back upon the ſeveral Conflicts that our Anceſtors have had with that unhappy People: tho in this laſt War, four parts in five of theſe againſt us were degenerate *Engliſh*. Nor ever were they under ſo good Diſcipline, or yet ſo unanimous formerly as now, which no doubt made the Battle much ſharper; tho' it may ſeem ſtrange that thoſe of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, that are Roman Catholicks, ſhould out of their blind Zeal to Popery, ſo quite forget from whence they came, that they joyn with the meer *Iriſh*, againſt all the Ties of Nation, Blood, and indeed of Intereſt. But as the Nature of Man is apter to degenerate than improve; ſo do the *Engliſh* oftner fall in love with the Barbarous Cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*, than on the contrary. Hence we read of the Earl of *Deſmond*'s complaining that the *Engliſh* were taking away their Eſtates and Countrey; and adviſes the *Iriſh* to join with him in their Defence: and yet his own Family had not been then in *Ireland*, above three Generations, and not that difference of Religion between them and the Natives as now; and it's obſervable that ſeveral Families removing out of *England* into *Ireland*, call themſelves by the Counties in *England*, from

July 1691.

July 1691. from whence they came, for two or three Generations, and then forgetting thoſe, they often turn meer *Iriſh*; for put a drop of Wine into a pint of Water, and it preſently ſo far incorporates, as you can by no means diſcern it: ſo is it often with an *Engliſh* Family that has the Misfortune to be planted amongſt the meer *Iriſh*; for it ſoon becomes of the ſame ſtamp with themſelves. The conſequence of which has been lookt upon to be ſo pernicious to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Country, that not only the *Engliſh* have been forbid Cohabitation with the *Iriſh*; but there was a time when *Thomas* Lord *Burrough*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, amongſt other Inſtructions, had Charge to enquire *what* Engliſh *Undertakers had, contrary to their Covenants, ſuffered* Iriſh *Men to Inhabit their Lands.* Cox, Vol. 1. Page 413.

Inſtances in former times wherein the *Iriſh* loſt conſiderable numbers, with ſmall loſs to the *Engliſh*.

But I ſhall forbear this Subject for ſome time; and ſince I am run abroad, I ſhall give you ſome of many Inſtances, wherein the *Iriſh* have been formerly overthrown by the *Engliſh*, and that with very little Loſs to the *Britains*. To omit therefore the inequality of Numbers, at the firſt Conqueſt; and the little loſs commonly on our ſide, in thoſe great Victories then obtained: In the Year 1316. *William de Burgo*, and *Richard de Brimingham*, encountred *Falany O Connor*, King of *Conaught*, and killed the King, with 8000 of his Men, near *Athenree*, with very little loſs to themſelves; and yet the numerous Off-ſpring of thoſe brave *Engliſh* Commanders, are all, or moſt of them, at this day reputed *Iriſh*, and have declared themſelves for that Intereſt. *Auguſt* the 9th. 1336. The *Engliſh* gave the *Iriſh* another defeat in *Conaught*, with the loſs of one Man, killing Ten Thouſand of their Enemies. And *Anno* 1504. the Lord Deputy *Kildare* fought with *Bourk* (then turned *Iriſh*,) and a great many other

Iriſh

Iriſh Lords in a ſtrong Confederacy at *Knocklow*, on the 19*th.* of *Auguſt*, and killed four thouſand (ſome ſay 9000.) and not one man killed or hurt on his ſide. *July* 1691.

In the Year 1566. Col. *Randolph* Governour of *Derry*, ſallyed thence with 300 Foot and 50 Horſe upon *O Neal*, who then deſigned to Beſiege the Town; In which Sally, Four Hundred of the *Iriſh* were killed, without the loſs of one *Engliſh* man, except Col. *Randolph* himſelf. *James Fitz-Maurice*, and others were alſo Defeated in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and Four Hundred of them killed, without the loſs of one *Engliſh* man, except a Servant of one Captain *Malby*'s

And Sir *George Bingham* Routed a Party of the *Iriſh*, Commanded by the *Bourks*, at a place called *Ardaner*, being three thouſand in number, of whom only Seven eſcaped, and yet very little loſs to Sir *George*'s ſide. *Auguſt* the 8*th.* 1647. Six thouſand of the *Iriſh* are ſaid to be killed at the Battle of *Dungan*-Hills, fought by Maj. Gen. *Jones*, and not above Twenty *Engliſh* ſlain. The *Iriſh* always come off the loſers.

And what wonder is it then, if the Battle of *Aghrim*, the Greateſt and Beſt that ever the *Iriſh* fought, ſhould be won with the loſs of ſo few on our ſide. But ſuch is the unhappineſs of that People, that tho they always have the worſt of it: yet *Campion* makes this ſevere Remark upon them, and affirms, *That notwithſtanding their Oaths and their Pledges, they are no longer true than they find themſelves the Weaker.* And indeed all things conſidered, it can be reckoned no other than a misfortune to *England*, in having that Iſland ſo near adjoyning, whoſe Inhabitants have all along differed from us in Language and in Intereſt; and of late alſo in Religion too. Hence ſad experience tells us, that the Blood and Treaſure of *England* have been Exhauſted

July 1691. hauſted upon *Ireland*, when ever any Foreign Prince could think his Affairs ſecure, or advanced by a diſpute in having the *Iriſh* Natives on his ſide, who have been ready always to joyn with any againſt *England*, whoſe Subjects they have over & over again acknowledged themſelves, tho Heaven ſeems ſtill to blaſt their attempts and perfidy to that degree, that what ſide ſoever they have taken as yet againſt the *Engliſh*, has never proſpered. Which puts me in mind of a Story that I have heard relating to the former Wars, when ſeveral of the *Iriſh* Nobility and Gentry aſſembled at *Kilkenny*, were conſulting what means to uſe for the driving out of *Oliver Cromwell*, then lately Landed with an Army from *England*; & after ſeveral propoſals, all which were found difficult, My Lord *Clanmalera* a well meaning Gentleman amongſt them, but who ſeldome uſed to make Speeches, he now ſtood up, and after a profound ſilence, and great expectation, he gravely adviſed them *by all means to joyn with* Cromwell, *and to eſpouſe his Intereſt heartily, as the only Expedient to Ruine him:* and then to confirm his Opinion he gave them ſeveral inſtances of their being unfortunate to their Friends and Confederates formerly. As to this laſt Effort of theirs (which yet I pray God may be ſo) it was no leſs unhappy than any of the former, ſince before that, *Ireland* was in the faireſt way imaginable of being made for ever an *Engliſh* Countrey: for the Natives were generally poor, and not able to carry on a War even againſt the *Engliſh* of their own Kingdom; whoſe Servants or Tenants commonly they were, till by an unaccountable Zeal for Popery in King *James*; a dexterous management in My Lord *Tyrconnel* to make himſelf Great, and ſo to advance the Intereſt of his Nation; together with a ſecret deſign of the *French* King's, for his own ſake, the *Iriſh* were encouraged to that degree, that the Child

And thoſe alſo that ſet them a work.

as

as yet unborn may curſe the occaſions of ſo much Blood ſpilt, and Treaſure loſt, as has been expended in their ſuppreſſion; and yet I ſee little advantage that either themſelves or any of their Patrons have got by the Bargain. *July* 1691.

I ſhall conclude this Digreſſion, and the Battle of *Aghrim*, with an Account of a Propheey, which the *Iriſh* had of a Battle to be fought at this place. I was told by a Gentleman, who lives now in that Neighbourhood, that at leaſt a year before the Battle was fought, ſeveral of the *Ulſter Creights*, driving their Cattle that way, ſome of them askt this Gentlman the name of that Caſtle, who when he told them that it was called *Aghrim*: one of them replied, *that was the place where a great Battle was to be fought*; and that the *Engliſh* men ſhould think their Coats too heavy in climbing up thoſe Hills. This was alſo mentioned by Col. *Gordon O Neal* (found ſtript amongſt the Dead next day, and made a Priſoner) and ſeveral other of the *Iriſh* Officers after the Battle, which kind of Predictions are never rightly underſtood till they are paſt: for the *Iriſh* interpreted this to ſignifie the *Engliſh* mens running away from them, but they found it by experience, that the *Engliſh* thought their Coats too heavy in the purſuit of the Enemy: tho ſome ſay this Propheey is meant of the Hills near *Ardee*, the day before the Battle at the *Boyn*, which was ſo Hot, that very few were able to carry their Coats. Nor is there any other people more Superſtitious in this point than the *Iriſh*; and yet ſome of their Predictions are very remarkable, eſpecially at *Kingſale*, when the *Spaniards* landed there, where the Lord *Montjoy*, then Lord Lieutenant, was ſhewed the Ground ſeveral days before, whereon the Great *O Neal* was defeated by him. And this was done by an old Prophecy, which punctually

An account of ſome *Iriſh* Propheeies.

July 1691. tually named and deſcribed the place. Towards the end alſo of the former Wars in *Ireland*, whilſt *Ireton* lay before *Limerick*, my Lord *Broghill* was ſent with a Detachment out of the Army to a place called *Knocknaclaſhy*, to obſerve a Body of the *Iriſh*: My Lord found ſeveral people got there before him, on purpoſe to expect the fate of the laſt Battle of *Ireland*, to be fought on that Ground, as their Prediction run; and tho the *Iriſh* Forces were as then not upon the Spot, yet it ſo fell out that the Battle was fought there; the *Iriſh* Routed, and this the laſt Field-Conflict that happened during thoſe Wars. I have heard alſo ſome of the *Iriſh* tell us before we got theither that we ſhould not ſucceed at the firſt Siege of *Limerick*: and they had no other reaſon for it but becauſe one of their Propheſies ſaid ſo.

Our Army lay upon their Armes all night.

But I have ſpent too much time in theſe trifles, and therefore to return: Whoever have been concerned in like Caſes, may eaſily imagine what ſatisfaction it was to the General and whole Army, to find themſelves entirely Maſters of the Field, and their Enemies all diperſed; but the day being gone, and few of our Tents come up, the men were ordered to lye upon their Armes all Night: their dead Adverſaries (who two hours before had made a conſiderable Buſtle) lay now very quietly by without diſturbance. Next day the General ordered a publick thankſgiving to be kept, through the Army, for this happy Victory, and gave command that all our own dead ſhould be Buried, and thoſe of the Enemy alſo that lay on the ground where our Tents were to be pitched. But the reſt of the *Iriſh* remained ſtill unburied, no Inhabitants being left in that part of the Countrey to perform it; for it has been an Ancient Cuſtom amongſt them, ſtill to remove out of the way with their Cattle and all their Subſtance, at the approach of an Enemy: And

Judge

Judge *Cox* obſerves that in the Year 1178, towards the beginning of the *Engliſh* Government in *Ireland*, *Connaght* was invaded by *Miles Coghan*, and Young *Fitz-Stephens*: but they were forced to return for want of Proviſions, which has ſince fruſtrated more well contrived deſigns, and great Expeditions, than any other Accident. But this was not our caſe at this time, and the greateſt miſchief that happened by the *Iriſh* removing, was to have the Carcaſſes of their Countreymen for want of Burial, expoſed to the Birds of the Air, and the Beaſts of the Field; many Doggs frequenting the place afterwards and growing ſo fierce by feeding upon mans Fleſh, that it became dangerous for any ſingle man to paſs that way. And there is a true and remarkable Story of a Greyhound belonging to an *Iriſh* Officer: the Gentleman was killed and ſtript in the Battle, whoſe Body the Dog remained by night and day; and tho he fed upon other Corps with the reſt of the Dogs, yet he would not allow them or any thing elſe to touch that of his Maſter. When all the Corps were conſumed, the other Dogs departed, but this uſed to go in the Night to the adjacent Villages for Food, and preſently to return again to the place where his Maſters Bones were only then left: and thus he continued till *January* following, when one of Col. *Foulks*'s Soldiers being quartered nigh hand, and going that way by chance, the Dog fearing he came to diſturb his Maſters Bones, flew upon the Soldier: who being ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of the thing, unſlung his Piece, then upon his back, and killed the poor Dog.

July 1691.

Next morning after the Battle, one *Fitz-Gerald* and ſix Troopers came from the Enemy, and told us that what of the Army was left, made the beſt of their way towards *Limerick*: But that they were ſo

July 1691.

Brigadeer *Eppinger* sent with a Party towards *Portumna*.

ſhattered and frighted, that very few of their Foot would be got thither. The ſame day Brigadeer *Eppinger*. with a Party of 1200. Horſe and Dragoons was ordered towards *Portumna* and *Banober*, two Paſſes upon the *Shanon*, where the *Iriſh* kept Gariſons all laſt Winter. And on the 14*th*. thoſe places were Surrendred upon Condition to march out with their Arms and Baggage: Firſt towards our Camp, where they had liberty to lay down their Arms, if they pleaſed; or elſe to go on towards the *Iriſh* Army. *Longhrea*, *Melick*, and other places thereabouts were alſo Deſerted by the *Iriſh*, who moſt of them took towards *Limerick*, as the ſafeſt place of Retreat: whither they went in no kind of order, but rather like people going to a Fair, the Roads as they paſſed being full of Hampers and other ſtuff, which they had been in too great haſt to lug along; yet that very night after the Battle they Robbed and Plundred one another upon the Road. That Evening it was ordered that all the Officers that were not upon Duty, ſhould be at the General's Quarters next Morning at 9 of the Clock, to attend the Funeral of Major Gen. *Holſtaple*: and what Soldiers would bring in Muskets to the Artillery, ſhould have 6*d*. a piece for them: by which means they brought in a great many Waggon loads full of the Arms loſt and thrown away by the *Iriſh*; and tho the price was reduced to two pence afterwards, yet there ſtill came a great many in. Our Hoſpital was then pitched at *Garbally*, about three Miles nearer *Athlone*: and it was likewiſe ordered that if there were any Sick or Wounded men that were not ſent to the Hoſpital, they ſhould be brought to the Artillery at Five in the Morning, where they would find Waggons to carry them to *Athlone*, Six Hundred Waggons being then ordered to bring

up

up Bread and other Provisions from the Stores, which by that time were fixed there. July 1691.

The 15th. Major *O Connor*, and 60 men that had been Garrisoned at *Banober* Bridge came to our Camp, where 40 of the men laid down their Armes, to whom the General gave 5 *s.* a piece for encouragement, and ever after the *Irish* deserted apace.

The 16th the Army marched to *Loughreagh*, a small Town seated in an indifferent good Countrey, but remarkable for nothing so much as for several Synods and Assemblies kept there, by the Popish Clergy, in year 1650. when the late unhappy Troubles where at the heighth. Those were the Congregational Party, who sometimes condemned the Cessation, and at other times they approved of it; But at last they Excommunicated the then Marquis of *Ormond* for acting by the Kings Commission, tho he valued themselves very little, and their Excommunication much less. And it were to be wished that other Churches too, as well as that of *Rome*, were better advised in this way of Censuring. The Army marcht to *Loughreagh*.

This place we found Plundred by the *Irish* Army, as well their own People as the *English*; the *Irish* Soldiers giving their Countrey-men this reason for what they did, *that they had better be Plundred by their own people, than give what they had to the English Army, who would certainly strip them in a day or two more.*

The 17th. We marched to *Athenree*, within 8 Miles of *Galway*, standing in a plain dry Countrey, and encompassed with a pretty good Sone Wall; but we found not above 30 *Irish* Cabbins in all the Town, most of which were deserted too, and the Inhabitants gone with the rest of the Neighbourhood, towards the Mountains of *Slewbaughty*. Thence to *Athenree*.

There

July 1691. There was a Religious House in the Town, built at first, by *Miles Bruningham*, in the Year 1241; and tho it had been defaced when other Monasteries were suppressed, yet the *Irish* had pretty well repaired it again. But upon our Approach, the Monks had left their House, and greatest part of their Books. By the Ruines of two Churches, within the Walls, and another Religious Place or two without, it appears a Town of some Antiquity; and I find this to be the place where *Bruningham* defeated the *Irish*, and slew Eight Thousand of them; the Town being walled afterwards, with the Money raised of Armour, and spoil gotten from the *Irish*; for every one of the *English* that had double Armour of the *Irish*, gave one half towards the Walls of the Town; of which *Bruningham* was made Baron, and one *John Hussey*, a Butcher, did wonderful Feats that Day.

Afterwards frequent skirmishes happened hereabouts, between the *English* and *Irish*, and the Town it self was burnt in Queen *Elizabeths* time, by the *Mackan Earl*'s, the Church not escaping; one of them saying, upon his being told that his Mother was buried in it, *That if she were alive, he would sooner burn her, and it together, than that any* English *Churle should fortifie there.* Soon after this, 2000 *l.* Tax was laid by the Lord Deputy to Rebuild the Town; but as they were about it, and the Work well nigh finished, the New Gates were set on Fire again, by my Lord *Clanrickards* Sons, who passed the *Shannon*, and changed their *English*, for *Irish* Apparel, then sackt the Town, drove away the Masons, and defaced the Queens Arms. This place it seems has not been very considerable since, by reason of the Condition we found it in. Our Army encamped on the Plains, not far from the Town, the General going

going with a Party, three Miles nearer *Galway*: from whence being upon a riſing Ground, we could ſee into the Bay, where there lay then Six Ships; Three of which went off that Night. It was given out in Orders, that the Men ſhould be kept cloſe in the Camp, and to be ready to March in a Minutes warning, without beat of Drum; but on farther Conſideration, we reſted. On the 18*th.* the General going, with a Party, to a place called *O Rammore*, ſeated upon the very end of the Bay of *Galway*, which the *Iriſh* had burnt ſome days before; His Excellency thought it not convenient to approach ſo nigh, as to view the Town of *Galway*, which we could not do without went within half a Mile of it, tho not one of the *Iriſh* appeared; for they had only a few Scampering Dragoons in Town; and therefore when the General had viewed the moſt convenient ways to March his Guns and Carriages, and ſent an Aid du Camp to diſcover who Major General *Scravemore* was, who had gone abroad alſo, with a Party another way; he returned to the Camp, whither one Mr. *Shaw*, a Merchant, and ſome others, came from *Galway*, and gave the General a full Account how matters ſtood within; that the Garriſon were only 7 Regiments, and thoſe neither full, nor well Armed; that they agreed not amongſt themſelves about keeping or ſurrendring the Town, tho it was probable they would never abide a brisk Attack; that *D'Uſſone*, the *French* Lieutenant General was there, and that my Lord *Dillon* was Governour, and that the *Iriſh* expected *Balderick O Donnel*, with his Party to come into Town, by way of *Ire*, *Conaught*, without whom they were not in a Condition to make Reſiſtance. The heat of Expectation, from this *Iriſh* Deliverer, was now pretty well cooled; and at the Battle of *Aghrim*, he was at one Mr. *Miller's*, at *Bally-Cuſhean*, about Six Miles

July 1691.

Some Proteſtants eſcape out of *Galway*, and inform the General of the ſtate of that place.

July 1691. Miles from *Tuam*, having a Party of about one Thouſand Men at *Hedford*, *Ballinrobe*, and up and down the Country, who upon the News of the Battle, were for marching in all haſte towards the Mountains: but not ſeeing our Army approach ſo ſoon as they expected them. *Balderock*, at the Inſtigation of one *Linch*, a Popiſh-Prieſt, and one who called himſelf Dean of *Tuam*, ſent back a Party to that Town, who alledging that the People were making great Preparations to receive the *Engliſh* Army; they ſtript the Inhabitants, and burnt the Place, at ſuch a time, when the People not only expected to get in their Harveſt, but alſo hoped for the Protection of the *Engliſh* Army; but found the contrary, as well to their diſappointment as loſs. This Town is dignified with an Archiepiſcopal Seat, and is that where the firſt Caſtle that ever was in *Ireland*, as to any pile of Lime and Stone, was built in the Year 1161. by *Rotherick O Connor*, the Monarch; and for the rarity called *Caſtrum Mirificum*. The Inhabitants here inform us that the Town was burnt in the former Wars, by *O Donnel*'s Grandfather, who turning about from a riſing Ground, and beholding the Flames, he fell down dead from his Horſe, without ever ſpeaking another word. With the Pillage of this Town, and ſome other Places of the Country about, *Balderock*, and his Party, marched to a Place called *Cong*, amongſt the Mountains, in the County of *Mayo*; his Men were then dwindled away, and not above Six Hundred in Number. So that he was ſo far from being ſerviceable to *Galway*, that his Deſign was to keep amongſt the Mouutains, till he could make Terms for himſelf, upon which account he writ to the General, before our Army removed from *Galway*.

Nigh

Nigh the ſame time Judge *Daily* who lived in that part of the Country had ſent to the General, deſiring that a Party might be ſent for him, who ſhould ſeemingly force him from his Habitation; this Gentleman and ſome others of the *Iriſh* had kept a Correſpondence with our Government for ſeveral Months paſt, and had propoſed the ſurrendring of *Galloway*, and ſome other things, which was the occaſion of a part of our Armies marching to the *Shannon* the Winter before, but whether they were real and ſincere in what they propoſed, or they did it only to gain time, and by that means to benefit their own Party, may well be queſtioned, ſince thoſe very men continue ſtill the greateſt Patrons of the *Iriſh*, and what they told the General at that time was at beſt a Miſtake, for they informed him that the Gariſon of *Gallway* was five thouſand men at leaſt, and thoſe well armed, that the Stores were conſiderable, and the Town almoſt impregnable, that *Sarcefield* with the whole Body of the *Iriſh* Horſe was upon his march with a Reſolution to raiſe the Siege, and that *Baldereck's* Party was above ſix thouſand ſtrong; But tho' the General had no great reaſon to believe all this, yet he thought it convenient to ſuppoſe the worſt, and therefore was doubtful whether to beſiege the Town, or to ſtay for the heavy Cannon which were at *Athlone*: yet upon the repeated Aſſurances of ſeveral Proteſtants that thoſe were only Tricks to gain time, he reſolved to approach the Town of *Gallway* the day following. Orders were therefore given out that the Army ſhould march in two Colums, with an hundred men of each Wing for a Rear Guard, Commanded by a Lieutenant Collonel of the Right-Wing: A Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign with fifty Fire-Locks were to march at the Head of each Regiment. *July*, 1691.

The ninteenth we marched from *Athenree*, the General leaving three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons there under The Army march to *Gallway*.

July, 1691. under the Command of Lieutenant Gen. *Scravemore* and Major Gen. *Ruvigny* as well for the Conveniency of Forrage, (the Ground nigh *Galloway* being very Barren and Rocky) as to obſerve the Enemies Motion by ſecuring the Paſſes, and by that means our great Guns that were deſigned to come from *Athlone*, if the Town did not ſubmit without putting us to the Trouble. The Town of *Galloway* is no doubt one of the Ancienteſt and Greateſt in *Ireland*, and yet I do not find many remarkable things of it formerly, it being always rather a place of Trade than Action of another Nature: It was firſt governed by a Provoſt, then Sovereign and Baylitfs, then a Mayor and Bayliffs, now by a Mayor and Sheriffs, It was moſt of it burnt in the year 1500. but ſoon rebuilt by reaſon of the Richneſs of the Inhabitants: the Houſes within the Walls are generally very ſtrong, and the Streets narrow; it was blockt up by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Major General *Ludlow* in the year 1652. and ſurrendred to Sir *Charles* on the 12*th*. of *May* following, the loſs of which carried with it at that time the Fate of *Ireland*. There lived a great many rich Merchants in it of late by reaſon of the conveniency of its Situation for Trade with *Spain* or *France*, but moſt of them are *Iriſh*, which might be one great reaſon to expect the having it delivered upon reaſonable Terms, rather than by reſiſtance to have it ruined. The Town is Seated at the Foot of a narrow ridge of Land, having *Galloway-Bay* on the *South* and *South-Eaſt*, a large River coming from *Lough Cerbe* on the *Weſt*, and towards the *North* there lies a low Bog, through the midſt of which runs a narrow but deep River proceeding from the Great one that ſlides by the Town: this River and Bog each about a Mile and an half towards the *North-Eaſt*, and then end together, the River ſinking under ground at the Foot of a large Hill; but appears again at an Old Caſtle nigh

The Town deſcribed.

Oken

Oran-More, where it runs into the utmoſt Creek of the Bay. The Ridge of Land betweeen the Bog and the Bay towards the Eaſt is but very narrow, and may with no great difficulty be Fortified, without which the Town is not to be defended ſince an Army may approach under covert of this Ridge within leſs then an hundred Yards of the Town-wall, where there is a riſing Ground that overlooks a great part of the Town. There had been ſome works upon the neck of this Ridge in former times, and the *French* had begun to repair them, but had not brought them to any perfection; the *Iriſh* however were hard at work upon a Fort at the end of this Ridge, and nigh the *South Eaſt* Corner of the Wall, they had levelled all the Hedges nigh the Town, as alſo the Suburbs towards the *Eaſt*-Gate, and ſeveral very ſtrong Works were caſt up to defend that part of the Town: within the Wall on that ſide there ſtands a round Citadel with eight Guns, having a Platform nigh it of ſix Guns more, at the *South-Eaſt* corner of the Wall were eight or ten Guns planted; there ſtands alſo a Turret towards the middle of a large Curtain that runs along next the Bay, on which were three Guns, and towards the River they had planted five more, which with thoſe that lookt towards the *Weſt* and *North*, made in all about forty ſix Guns, moſt of which were amounted upon little mean Carriages, ſomething like thoſe they commonly have on Ship-board. We had no oppoſition at all in approaching the Town, but the *Iriſh* that they might do ſomething, burnt my Lord *Buffin*'s Houſe ſeated by the River nigh a Mile from the Town, ſome of them ſtaying in the Orchards till they were beat from thence by a Party of our Horſe; they burnt alſo their Suburbs towards the *North-Weſt* Gate, and made a ſhew as if they were preparing for a vigorous reſiſtance. Aſſoon as a part of our Army was drawn as near as the General thought convenient, he ſent a Trumpet to the Town,

July, 1691.

The Town Summoned.

July. 1691. Town, profering them the Benefit of the Lords Juſtices late Declaration if they would ſurrender without any further trouble, whilſt the Trumpeter was in Town, the *Iriſh* fired three or four great Guns, which is not uſual in ſuch Caſes; but they pretended afterwards that it was done by ſome Gunners that knew not of the Trumpets being there; the Anſwer however ſent by my Lord *Dillon*, who was Governor, was to this effect, *That Monſieur* de Uſſone, *who Commanded in Chief was of the ſame opinion with himſelf and the reſt of the Officers, and that they were reſolved to defend the place to the laſt.* That Afternoon was ſpent in the poſting of our Army. The *Iriſh* in the mean time firing their great Guns from the Town, tho' with little loſs to us, becauſe of the convenience of Ground we had to Encamp on. There were only three Ships left now in the Bay, who anchoring nigh the Town, they made off from the Shoar as the Army marched in. And there was a Propoſal offered to make all our Tin-Boats into four Floats, and put two ſmall Field-pieces upon each, with which we were to attempt the ſeizing the Ships in the Bay, for it was ſuppoſed that if the Ships had Guns, yet our Floats would be ſo flat as to lie under them, and ſo we might with no great danger either board or ſink the Veſſels, but after having made the Floats and mounted ſome of our Guns upon them, the deſign was found impracticable for ſeveral Reaſons, and we had an opportunity of lamenting our misfortune, in not having at that time ſo much as one *Engliſh* Frigat near us. The Boats therefore were to be imployed other-ways, for as ſoon as it was grown dark Lieutenant General *Mackay*, with Colonel *Tiffins*, Colonel St. *Johns*, Monſieur *Cambons*, Lord *George Hambletons*, one *Dutch*, and a *Daniſh* Regiment of Foot, with four Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons were wafted over the River, about two Miles above the Town: by

A Party of Monks paſs the River.

break

break of day our men were all ſafe on the other ſide, meeting with no oppoſition, only a ſmall Party of Dragoons fir'd at the firſt Party that landed, and then ſcoured off; whether the *Iriſh* really expected *Balderock O Donnell* to come into Town that way is uncertain, however we had now deſtroyed all hopes of it, and he retired again into the County of *Mayo*, from whence he writ to the General as has been ſaid. On *Sunday* in the Evening, not many hours after we appear'd before the Town, one Captain *Bourk* deſerted from the Enemy, and gave the General an account, that the Fort the *Iriſh* were making towards the *South-Eaſt* was almoſt finiſhed, and therefore the ſooner it was attacked, it would be the eaſier gained, and that it was as neceſſary for us to take as them to keep it, becauſe it commanded a great part of the Wall on that ſide the Town. Next Morning early Count *Naſſau* with a Party of Granadeers and two Regiments of Foot was conducted by Captain *Bourk* the ſafeſt way to attack this Fort: (Major General *Talmaſh* would needs go a Volunteer as he uſually did (when it was not his turn to command) we mannaged it ſo well that our Granadeers were got almoſt to the Foot of the Enemies works before they diſcovered us, upon which the *Iriſh* made ſome faint firings, but our men then ruſhed forwards, and threw in their Granado's, which ſoon forced the Enemy to retire by a Line of Communication that was drawn from the Fort to the Town: we loſt in this Action only a Lieutenant and five Men, having two Lieutenants and eight men more wounded, and after the Fort was in our poſſeſſion the Iriſh fired both ſmall and great ſhot upon us from their Walls, by which they wounded ſeveral, and killed one Mounſieur *Madronet*, an Ingineer, as he was giving Orders to the Workmen.

July, 1691.

A Fort taken.

That morning five Troopers deſert from *Balderock*'s Party

July, 1691. Party giving ſome account of his preſent circumſtances, tho when the Iriſh within ſaw a part of our Army beyond the River, they ſtill made ſhew of reſiſting, and burnt all the Suburbs on that ſide the Town, which were very large, and the Iriſh the readier to deſtroy them, becauſe moſt of the Houſes thereabouts had formerly belonged to the Engliſh. About ten a Clock, and whilſt their Suburbs were yet in a flame the Iriſh beat a Parley, the Governour ſending a Drummer with a Letter to the General to deſire a ſafe Conduct for ſome Perſons to come out in order to a Capitulation: To which the General returned a ſatisfactory Anſwer, aud preſently a Ceſſation was commanded between the Camp and Garriſon, thoſe in Town crowding in great numbers upon the Walls, and our Souldiers going to the out-ſide of the Iriſh Works, enquiring each for their Friends and Acquaintance in one anothers Army.

The Iriſh beat a Parley.

Hoſtages exchanged. In the afternoon Hoſtages were exchanged in order to a Treaty. Thoſe on our ſide were Lieutenant Colonel *Purcel*, Lieutenant Colonel *Coot*, and the Marquiſs *de Rhada*, Lieutecant Colonel to my Lord *Cutts*. The Enemies Hoſtages were Lieutenant Colonel *Linch*, Lieutenant Colonel *Burk*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Reyley*. The Articles were not agreed upon that day, and the Iriſh prevailed with the General to continue the Ceſſation till *Tueſday* at ten a Clock; which time being come, the General ordered eight Guns and four Mortars to be drawn down to that Fort we took the day before, and there to be planted, then ſent a Drum to command away his Hoſtages; but the Iriſh had ſome debates amongſt themſelves, not that they pretended to hold out the Town, but about the method of Surrender, and the Subſtance of their Articles. Their delayes however made the General impatient

patient, and he ſent once or twice to haſten their Reſolutions: At laſt Lieutenant Colonel *Burk* one of their Hoſtages was permitted to go in, Major General *Talmaſh*, as was believed, being inclined to lay the Treaty aſide, deſired him, *When they were ready to begin afreſh, to give us a ſign to ſecure our ſelves, by firing a Gun into the Air*: The other replied, *That they would not fire from within till we provok'd them to it from without*: But after ſome further time it was agreed to, that next *Sunday* morning, the Town ſhould be delivered up upon the following Articles. *July.* 1691.

The Articles of *Galloway*, as they were confirmed afterwards by their Majeſties.

GUlielmus & Maria *Dei gratia* Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, *Rex & Regina Fidei Defenſores*, &c. *Omnibus ad quos præſentes Litera Noſtræ pervenirint ſalutem: Inſpeximus Irrotulamentum quarundum literarum patentium de confirmatione gerenda, & apud* Weſtmonaſterium *decimo Septimo die* Februarii *ultimo præterito in Curia Cancelaria Noſtra Irrotulata ac ibidem Recordo Remanente in hæc verba.*

William and *Mary* by the Grace of God, *&c.* To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come Greeting: Whereas certain Articles bearing date the one and twentieth day of *July* laſt paſt, were made and agreed upon, by our Truſty and well belvoed, *Robert* Baron

July, 1691. ron *de Ginckel* Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of Our Forces in Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the Conſtable and Governour of Our Town of *Galway* in Our ſaid Kingdom; Whereby Our ſaid General promiſes, that We ſhould ratifie theſe Capitulations within the ſpace of three months from the date thereof, or ſooner. The Tenor of which ſaid Articles is as followeth, *Viz.*

Articles of *Galloway*.

Articles granted to the Town and Gariſon of Galloway *by Lieutenant General* Ginckell, *Commander in Chief of Their Majeſties Forces the* 21ſt. *of* July, 1691.

I. THat the Town and Fort of *Galloway* ſhall be given up to his Excellency or ſuch Officer as he ſhall appoint, on *Sunday* Morning next by ſix of the Clock; together with all the Stores of Ammunition, and Proviſion, and Magazines of all ſorts without Embezlement, and that immediately upon the ſigning theſe Articles, ſuch Perſons as the General ſhall appoint have leave to inſpect them.

II. That all Deſerters that are in the Town ſhall be given up.

III. That immediately after the ſigning theſe Articles, all the Outworks of the Town ſhall be delivered to ſuch Officers as the General ſhall appoint to take Poſſeſſion of the ſame, and that the General ſhall withdraw all the Cannon from the Wall.

IV. That

IV. That till the Town is ſurrendred as aforeſaid, the General may order ſuch Works and Batteries to be made as he ſhall judge convenient, provided he doth not bring them within three yards of the Wall, nor the Guns within ten yards of the Batteries; and that in the Town they ſhall not proceed to work to fortifie the ſame any further. July, 1691.

V. In Conſideration of the ſaid Rendition his Excellency gives leave to Lieutenant General *d'Uſſone*, Monſieur *Metlet* Commiſſary of War, and the reſt of the *French* Officers and Souldiers, and others of that Nation now in *Gallway*, to go to *Limerick* with their Arms, Bag, and Bagage, whether they ſhall be ſafely conducted the neareſt way, and in caſe that the ſaid Lieutenant General *d'Uſſone* ſhall want Horſes to carry his Equipage thither, the General will furniſh him with them.

VI. That ſuch of the Gariſon as deſire it may remain in Town, or go to their reſpective homes and enjoy the benefit of this Capitulation, and the reſt ſhall march to *Limerick* with their Arms, ſix pieces of Cannon, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Bullet in mouth, and as much Ammunition and Proviſions as each Officer and Souldier can carry with him, and that they ſhall be furniſhed with Draught-Horſes, and Harneſſes for their Guns if they want them, which ſaid Guns they ſhall have liberty to chooſe, provided they take none above twelve Pounders.

VII. That the wounded and ſick Officers may ſtay in Town till they are cured, and that then they ſhall be ſent to *Limerick* with a ſafe Conduct, and in the mean time ſhall be provided in Town with neceſſaries for their Cure and Subſiſtance.

July, 1691.

VIII. That the Governor, Conſtable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgeſſes, Freemen and Natives of *Gallway*, and the Inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones by any former Charter of King *James* the II. granted before his *Abdication*, or any of his Anceſtors, ſhall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treaſons, Fellonies, Premunires, and all manner of Offences committed ſince the beginning of the ſaid King *James*'s Reign, to the date hereof.

IX. That all and every of the Gariſon, Officers, Governor, Conſtable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgeſſes, Freemen, and Inhabitants aforeſaid, ſhall enjoy and poſſeſs their Eſtates real and perſonal, and all other Liberties and Immunities as they held or ought to have held under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherways by the Laws of this Kingdom, freely diſcharged from all Crown-rents, quit-rents, and all other Charges to the date hereof.

X. That the Names of the Roman Catholick Clergy of the Town of *Gallway* be given to the General, on or before *Tueſday* next, and that they as well as the Laity of the ſaid Town, ſhall have the private Exerciſe of their Religion without being proſecuted on any Penal Laws for the ſame, and that the ſaid Clergy ſhall be protected in their Perſons and Goods.

XI. That the Gentlemen of Eſtates now belonging to the Town and Gariſon of *Gallway* ſhall have liberty to keep a Gun in their Houſes for the defence of the ſame, and wear a Sword and Caſe of Piſtols if they think fit.

XII. That

XII. That all the Roman Catholick Lawyers of the ſaid Town ſhall have the free liberty of Practice that they had in King *Charles* the Second's time. *July.* 1691.

XIII. That ſuch of the Officers belonging to any of the Regiments that are now in *Gallway*, and not preſent at the ſigning of theſe Capitulations ſhall have the benefit of the ſame, provided they ſhall ſubmit within three Weeks to the Governor of *Gallway* for the time being, who ſhall be appointed by the General, or that they ſhall have a ſafe Conduct to go to *Limerick* in the ſame manner as the ſaid Gariſon has.

XIV. That ſuch other Perſons now in Town as deſire to go out with the Gariſon, or ſuch part thereof as goes to *Limerick* ſhall have liberty to do ſo, and carry their Families and Goods along with them, and that ſuch Officers Wives belonging to the ſaid Gariſon as are there or in any other part of *Conaught*, may at the ſame time depart with their Goods, or at any other convenient time afterwards, particularly Colonel *Edmund Reily*'s Wife, Mother and Family, the Lady *Ivaugh* and her Daughter, and Lieutenant Colonel *Luke Reily*, his Brother *Philip Reily*, their Wives and Families.

XV. That immediately all Acts of Hoſpitality ſhall ceaſe on both ſides, and that if it ſhall happen that any provoking Language ſhall paſs between the Souldiers, they ſhall be puniſhed by their reſpective Officers for the ſame, and not permitted to fire on one another.

July, 1691. XVI. That for the due performance of theſe Articles, the Governor ſhall immediately give the Perſons undernamed for Hoſtages,

Earl of *Clanrickard*.
Colonel *Dominick Brown*.
Lord of *Iniskillin*.
Major *Dillon*.
Lieutenant Col. *Bodkin*.

Laſtly, The General promiſes to have theſe Capitulations ratified by Their Majeſties within the ſpace of three Months from the date hereof, or ſooner if poſſible.

Signed and Sealed the day above-mention'd by the Commander in Chief of Their Majeſties Forces, and the Conſtable and Governor of the ſaid Town interchangeably.

Dillon.
Clanrickard.
Iniskillin.

Signed and Sealed in the preſence of

Dominick Brown.
John Bodkin.
Thomas Dillon.
James Skelton.
James O Brian.
Hugh Dogherty.
John Stephenſon.
Oliver O Gara.
William Bourke.
Anthony O Dogherty.
Robert Linch.
Bryan O Neile.
Hugh O Neile.
John Dogherty.

And

'**And whereas** the ſaid Town of *Gallway* hath been 'ſince in purſuance of the ſaid Articles ſurrendred to 'us: **Know ye** that we having conſidered of the ſaid 'Articles, are graciouſly pleaſed hereby to declare that 'we do as far as in us lies ratifie and confirm the ſame, 'and every Clauſe, Matter, and Thing therein contained. 'And as to ſuch part thereof, for which An Act of Par-'liament ſhall be found to be neceſſary, we ſhall recom-'mend the ſame to be made good by Parliament. And 'ſhall give our Royal Aſſent to any Bill or Bills that 'ſhall be paſſed by our two Houſes of Parliament for 'that purpoſe. *July*, 1691.

'**Provided always and our Will and Pleaſure is**, that 'theſe our Lettees Pattents ſhall be enrolled in our Court 'of *Chancery* in our ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* within one 'year next enſuing. In witneſs, &c. Witneſs our ſelf at '*Weſtminſter* the Seventeenth Day of *February*.

Anno *Regni Regis & Regina* Guillielmi & Mariæ *quarto per bene de privato Sigillo. Nos autem tenorem præmiſſorum prædict. ac requiſitionem Attornati Generalis Domini Regis & Dominæ Reginæ pro Regno* Hyberniæ *duximus exemplificandum per præſentes. In Cujus rei Teſtimonium has litteras noſtras fieri facimus patentes Teſtibus nobis ipſis apud Weſtmonaſterium quinto die Aprilis Anno Regni eorum quarto.*

Bridges.

Examinat. per nos

S. Keck
Lacon. W. Child } *In Cancell. Magiſtros.*

This

July, 169.

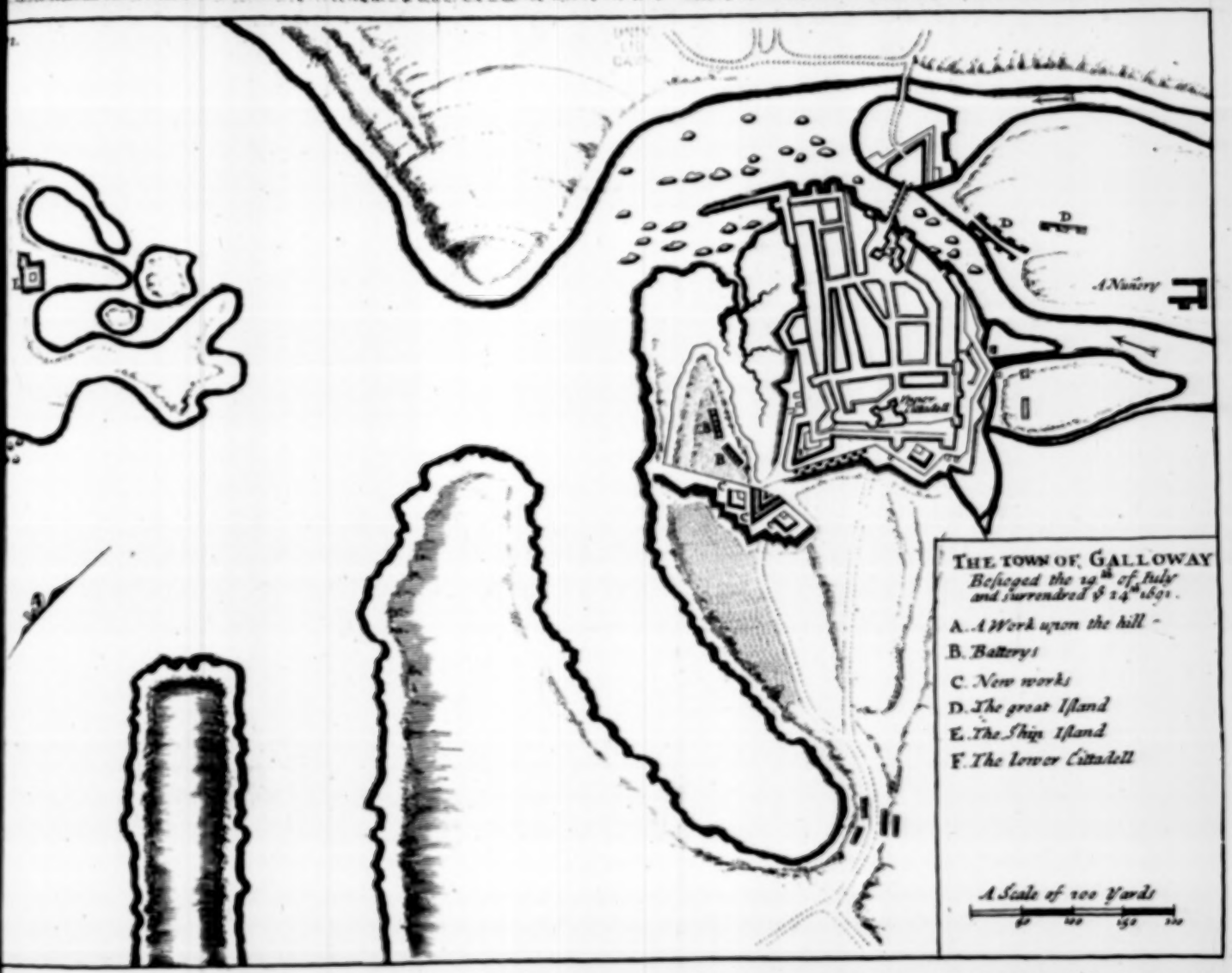
This Town with a good Gariſon in it might have given us more trouble, and ſo have poſtponed the Siege of *Limerick*: yet conſidering their preſent Circumſtances, they did not manage ill in procuring for themſelves thoſe Terms which they had, tho' the General might ſafely condeſcend to grant any thing included in the Lords Juſtices Declaration, which both the Articles of *Gallway* and *Limerick* are. At the ſame time that *Gallway* was Capitulating, there came a *Drum* from *Limerick*, which put us in hopes that all was over, and that they had a mind to make Terms not only for *Gallway* but for the Iriſh Nation in general, but it was only about the exchange or releaſing of ſome Priſoners, which at that time could not be granted, or rather it was to underſtand what became of *Gallway* that ſo the others might take their meaſures accordingly.

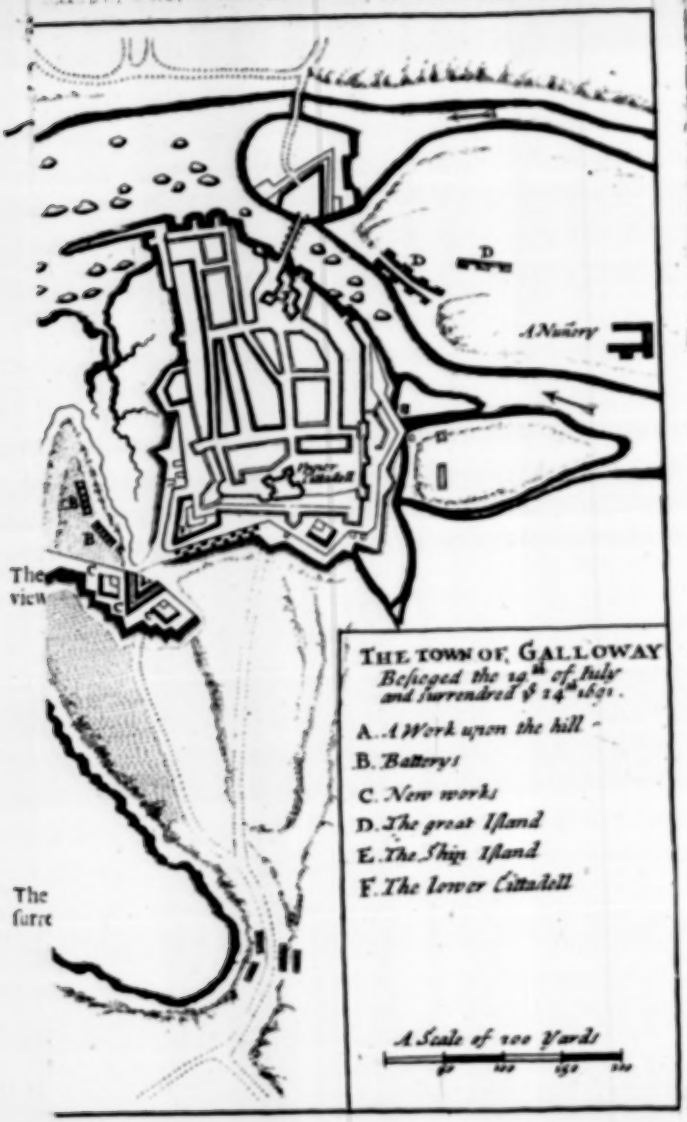
The Stores viewed.

Aſſoon as the Articles were ſigned, *William Robinſon* Eſq; Deputy Pay-maſter to the Army was ſent into Town to take an Account of the Stores, and *Tueſday* in the Afternoon we took poſſeſſion of all their Outworks, the Enemy diſmounting all their Cannon alſo, and thus we continued a Friendly Correſpondence till *Sunday* the 26*th*. when about ſeven a Clock in the Morning Monſieur *d'Uſſone* the *French* Lieutenant General came to our Camp and ſtay'd about half an hour from whence he had a Guard for his Perſon to Conduct him towards *Limerick*: Sir *Henry Bellaſis* being appointed Governor, he marched to the Town with his own, Colonel *Brewers* and Colonel *Herberts* Regiments, and about nine a Clock he took Poſſeſſion of all the Guards. The Iriſh before they marched out were dividing ſome Gunpowder in the Street, which accidentally taking fire, ſome had their eyes blown out, others had their Hair and Cloaths burnt off, above twenty of them being diſfigured by it; the ſuddenneſs of this Accident, bred ſome confuſion

The Town ſurrendred.

at


A Nursery
THE TOWN OF GALLOWAY
Besieged the 19th of July
and surrendred y 14th 1691.
A. A Work upon the hill
B. Batterys
C. New works
D. The great Island
E. The Ship Island
F. The lower Cittadell
A Scale of 100 Yards
50
100
150
200


A Nunery
The
view
The
surre
THE TOWN OF GALLOWAY
Besieged the 19th of July
and surrendred y 14th 1691.
A. A Work upon the hill
B. Batterys
C. New works
D. The great Island
E. The Ship Island
F. The lower Cittadell
A Scale of 100 Yards

at first, and three of our Regiments being then in Town, each side seemed to suspect the other, and the Irish shewed some signs of being afraid that our Men were falling upon them, but the thing was presently over and the poor men taken care of: most of them that hapned this disaster going to two Irish Bishops for their Benediction, who were then in the Street and ready to march out with the Garison. *July*, 1691.

About ten a Clock my Lord *Dillon* marched out with the Irish Garison, being not above two thousand three hundred men, and those but indifferently armed and worse cloathed, they had six pieces of Cannon according to the Capitulation (four of which were Iron) and drawn by six Teams of our Horses, having a Guard of Horse and Dragoons from our Camp to conduct them to *Limerick*. At twelve a Clock the General himself went into Town, being attended after his entrance by the Mayor and Aldermen, the Recorder making a Speech to wish him Joy.

In the Evening one Captain *Brian O Neal* with most of his Company deserted from the Enemy, as did also several others, and taking the Oath of fidelity to their Majesties were either dismist to their several Habitations, or else were entertained in our Army as their fancy led them. We found several Guns in Town unmounted, and two or three very fine Brass Guns which they had not planted in any place to be made use of, there was also good store of Ammunition left, besides eight hundred Hogs-heads of Meal, and other things of value.

July the 27*th*. That part of the Army encampt beyond the River under Lieutenant General *Mackay* marcht through the Town, and our men were set to work in improving the Fort which the Irish had formerly begun towards the *South-East* Corner of the Wall

July. 1691. Wall, six of our Guns were likewise sent into Town since we had furnished the Irish with Draught-horses for so many of theirs, then we levelled all the Batteries and other Works that we had begun against the place, and all sick Souldiers that were not able to march, were ordered to be taken care of by the Governor, except such as were sent in Waggons towards *Athlone*.

The Army removes.

The 28*th.* we marched back to *Athenree*, and as the Army were in motion, Captain *Coal* with nine Men of War and eighteen other Ships appeared in the Bay of *Gallway*, to whom the General sent Orders to sail immediately for the *Shannon*; the twenty ninth we marched to *Longbreagh*, and the next day proving very rainy the Army rested. The 31*th.* the Army marched towards *Airs Court* a well improved place and a good Country all about, but upon occasion of the Waters being swelled by the former days rain, or else through the mistake of Orders, the Army encamped that night in three several places, which had been a good opportunity for a vigorous Enemy to endeavour the retrieving of their Losses, but the Truth of it was, they were at too great a distance for any such Attempt.

A Squadron of Ships come into the Bay.

A Brief Account of what hapned in other places of the Kingdom.

And since we have brought the Army to the end of this month let us leave them a while on their march towards *Limerick*, and briefly give an account of what hapned much about this time in several other parts of the Kingdom.

July the 1*st.* Lieutenant Colonel *Dawson* marcht with a Party of the Militia towards the *Comorra* Mountains not far from *Waterford* where he killed three Rapparees; and Major *Stroud* being one of the Officers appointed by the Government to Command the Militia in the County of *Cork*, killed ten Rapparees near *Baly-Cleugh*; and in ten days there were sixty more killed in that part of the Countrey adjoyning to *Bandon*, by Lieu-

Lieutenant Colonel *More* and others of the Militia, and Colonel *Blunt* killed five near *Caſhell*. *July*, 1691.

In the beginning of *April* one *Duppine* obtained Letters Patents for the ſetting up a Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland*, this was very taking at firſt, and a great many of the Chief men in the Kingdom had ſhares in it. On the 8*th*. of *July* the Lords Juſtices with ſeveral of the Nobility and Judges met at the *Tholſell*, in *Dublin*, and there admitted ſeveral new Members of the ſaid Corporation, but what this project will come to in this Kingdom is as yet uncertain.

The ſame day our *Smirna Fleet* came into the Harbour of *Kinſale*, and we had an account that our *Grand Fleet* was then nigh *Cape-Clere*.

About this time five and twenty Rapparees were killed near *Mount Melick*, and part of the Militia of *Roſcreagh* go towards *Nenagh*, upon an expedition for black Cattle and killed ten Rapparees; one Captain *Warren* killed nine alſo in the County of *Killkenny*. On the 17*th*. ten Ships with Mortars, Bombs, Ammunition, *&c*. came from *Dublin* to *Kinſale*, being part of thoſe convoyed afterwards by Captain *Coale* to *Limerick*, and then our Fleet convoyed the *Smirna Fleet* from *Kinſale* towards *England*: Ships alſo came to *Waterford* with one hundred Recruits for the *Brandenburg* Regiment who ſuffered much in the former Siege of *Limerick*, and ſome few alſo for the Danes.

John Weaver Eſq; High Sheriff of the County of *Weſtmeath* by Order from the Government gives Protections to ſeveral Rapparees, and thoſe diſcover a knot of Rogues, twenty three of whom were killed by the Militia, and three Gun-ſmiths alſo who were at work for them, on a Forge built in the midſt of a great Wood. *July* the 20*th*. a Party of the Iriſh Army ap-

July, 1691. pear nigh *Caſhell*, but marched off again without attempting any thing: And Colonel *James Barry* with a Party of the Militia killed five and thirty Rapparees near *Tallough*, but being way-laid by the Enemy, moſt of his Party were killed or taken Priſoners, and himſelf carried to *Limerick*, where he remained a Priſoner till the Town was ſurrendred. The 22*d.* three Rapparees were killed near *Cork*, and four more towards *Cahir*. The 23*d* Lieutenant Colonel *Ramſey*, Captain *Kingſly* and other Officers with one hundred Souldiers out of Colonel *Venner*'s Regiment (formerly Sir *Edward Deering*'s) joyned with four hundred of the Militia marched towards *Sligo* to view the Poſture of the Enemy thereabouts, and it being reported that Lieutenant General *Sheldon*'s Horſe were in that part of the Country; two hundred Horſe and Dragoons were ſent abroad to diſcover the Truth of it. Lieutenant Colonel *Ramſey* with the reſt of the Party marched to *Ballyſedara* Bridge, four Miles from *Sligo* where he found old Sir *Teague O Regan* with eighty Horſe, and about two hundred Foot very Advantageouſly poſted, to hinder our paſſage that way, but our Party attacking them, they gave ground after ſome time, and Sir *Francis Hambleton* with ſome of the Militia, and a Troop of Colonel *Winn*'s Dragroons coming in the mean time, the Enemy were purſued almoſt to the Fort of *Sligo*, about thirty of them killed and ninteen taken Priſoners, amongſt whom were two Lieutenants and an Enſign, and the Store-keeper of *Sligo*. Sir *Teague* himſelf narrowly eſcaping for his mean Appearance was the reaſon that a Lieutenant was ſeized inſtead of him.

The Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment had now Orders to march from the *Queens County* to *Mullingar*, where the

the men were daily imployed to improve and ſtrengthen the Works, my Lord himſelf marched always with his Regiment, and then took a great deal of pains as well in ſeeing the Works compleated as in forwarding the Stores, and alſo in hearing and redreſſing Complaints and Grievances relating as well to the Army the Country. A Party of the Militia bring in ſome Priſoners from the Iſland nigh *Lanesborough* who were afterwards ſent to *Dublin*. *July.* 1691.

Seventeen Rapparees were killed in the County of *Kildare* by two Parties of the Militia, and three hanged at *Edenderry*; five hundred of the Militia of the County of *Cork* under the Command of Colonel *Beecher* met with about four hundred of the Iriſh beyond a place called *Shilbareene*, and after a ſmall diſpute the Enemy were put to flight, by which means our Party had almoſt ſurpriz'd *Mackarty Moore* and Colonel *O Donavan* who were not far off, the Enemy loſt nigh ſixty, and the Militia got a conſiderable Booty of Cattle, and nigh the ſame time one *Barry* a Captain with ten of his men deſerted from the Enemy.

On the Thirtieth of *July*, part of the Militia of the County of *Wickloe*, being two Troops of Horſe, two of Dragoons and five Companies of Foot rendezvouſed on the *Murrough* five Miles from *Wickloe*, where they were viewed by Major *Brooks* and Captain *Phillips* appointed by the Government as Superintendents of the Militia of that County. And thus ended this active month of *July* in *Ireland*, where more execution was done then in all *Europe* beſides, notwithſtanding the great Preparations.

July, 1691.

CHAP. VII.

Several freſh Regiments ordered towards the Camp to Recruit the Army. Brigadier Leveſon *ſent with a Party towards* Nenagh, *that place deſerted by long* Anthony Carol. *A Treaty with* Balderock O Donel. *The Army marches to* Cariganlis. *The General with a Party views* Limerick. *News of the Death of my Lord* Tyrconel. *Iriſh Lords Juſtices act after my Lord* Tyrconels *death. A Party ſent to meet our Guns. Colonel* Lumnley *goes with a Party towards* Charlevil. *A Spy returns with an account of the Eſtate of* Limerick. *An Order about the Rates of Proviſions. Another prohibiting the buying Cattle without the Generals Licenſe. Our Army goes to* Limerick. Iretons *Fort taken, then* Cromwels *Fort. Col.* Donep *killed. Our heavy Cannon came up. A Party ſent to* Caſtle-Cannel *Our Ships come up nigh the Town. Batteries planted. The Enemy afraid of our paſſing the River. Brigadier* Leveſon *ſent into* Kerry. *Some Proteſtants releaſed from St.* Thomas's *Iſland. Major General* Talmaſh *commands in the Trenches. A brief Account of what hapned in other places of the Kingdom during the Month of* Auguſt.

Freſh Regiments ſent for to the Camp.

THE General being aſſured, that the Iriſh were uſing their utmoſt skill and induſtry to rally and re-inforce their ſhattered Army, and not know-

ing

ing how far deſpair might carry Men, that were come now to their laſt Stake, conſidering alſo that we had a ſtrong Town before us, which would be the work of ſome Time to reduce, if the Enemy made what Reſiſtance might juſtly be expected; his own Troops being likewiſe harraſſed by continual labour and toil, ſuffering often through ſcarcity of Bread and other Neceſſaries by reaſon of continual marching: Thoſe and other Conſiderations prevailed with the General to ſend for all the Regiments that had been left in *Munſter* and other places, except Colonel *Haſtings* at *Cork*, and ſome *Inniskilliner*'s in the North; and ſome of them being already upon their march; we were joyned on the Firſt of *Auguſt* at *Banoker* Bridge by Colonel *Matthews* Dragoons, and Colonel *Lloyd*'s Foot; the latter upon further conſideration, being ordered back to *Athlone*, for that *Balderock*'s Party was ſtill on foot. *Banoher* is about fourteen miles from *Athlone* down the River towards *Limerick*, and is a very ſtrong Paſs, at which the Iriſh kept three Regiments all the precedeing Winter, building ſmall Huts to ſhelter th mſelves from the Weather: The Bridge it ſelf conſiſts of ſeventeen large Arches, one of which was broke down by the Iriſh, and another is ſince fallen. At the Bridge end, on *Leinſter* ſide had been a conſiderable Stone Fort, built in the former Wars, now demoliſhed by the Iriſh, but on the other ſide of the River they had caſt up a Work cloſe to the Bridge, and there planted four Field peeces, behind which ſtood an Old Caſtle, not to be forced without Cannon, and nigh that a very Regular Fort, and well paliſado'd, ſo that it was not ſo eaſie a thing to force this place at any time during the former Winter as ſome

July, 1691.

The Army marched to *Banober* Bridg.

July, 1691. ſome Coffee-Houſe Generals, and pot valiant Souldiers made it, but Men, that have been bred up that way, and are actually upon the Place, are commonly beſt Judges of what is fit to be attempted in ſuch a Caſe, though it is not convenient they ſhould alwayes give Reaſons for what they do to every one who pretend to be concern'd. Our Army encamped here on a narrow Neck of Ground left by the ſlopeing of the River on the Right, and a vaſt Bog on the Left. The Encampment being ſo ſtrong, that it had been impoſſible for any Army or numbers of Men to have forced us from our Ground.

Brigadier *Leveſon* ſent forwards with a Party.

Auguſt the Second, the Army halted, and a detachment of four Men out of each Troop of Horſe, with a Party of Dragoons, making in all five hundred men, under the Command of Brigadier *Leveſon*, were ſent forwards to ſcowre the Country: On the Fourth this Party went to *Nenagh*, where ſtands the *Remains* of an Old Caſtle built by King *John*, and now the Inheritance of the Duke of *Ormond*: The Roof of this Caſtle was burnt by a Party of our Army at our decamping laſt year, but the Walls, and ſome other conveniencies remain ſtill, being poſſeſt all Winter by long *Anthony Carol*, whoſe Party was now about five hundred: Hearing therefore of Brigadier *Leveſons* approach, he detached a Party towards a Bridge about half a mile from the Place, thinking to maintain that Paſs till his Men might march ſafely off towards *Limerick*, but at his coming to the Bridge, perceiving our Men marching to the Right and Left to incompaſs him, after ſome few ſhots, he retreated to *Nenagh* ſetting the ſmall part of the Town that was left on fire, which was ſoon quenched by ſome Engliſh Priſoners, that had been kept

Nenagh deſerted by the Iriſh.

kept there, but now releaſed, when the Iriſh made towards *Limerick*, when our Men got to *Nenagh*, Major *Wood* was ordered with a Party to purſue the Iriſh, which he did almoſt to *Cariganlis*, taking moſt of their Baggage, and about four hundred large Cattle, which the Iriſh were in too great haſte to carry off. *July*, 1691.

The Third our Army marched to *Bir*, but the paſſage over the Bridge at *Banober*, being exceeding troubleſom, it was late before the Guns and Carriages could be got up, and therefore we reſted on the Fourth. And now we found, that notwithſtanding all the ſupplies of Horſes that we had out of *England*, yet there ſtill wanted a great many for the uſe of the heavy Cannon, and therefore it was propoſed to bring them down from *Athlone* to *Limerick* by Water, but that being found impracticable, the General ſent to *Dublin*, where moſt of the Nobility and Gentry furniſhed him with their Coach *Horſes*, but all thoſe not being ſufficient a great many more were preſſed by an Order from the Government.

The Fifth we marched to *Buraſicane*, where there had been a pretty Engliſh Plantation, but burnt down the former Winter, by the Garriſon of *Bir*, becauſe they did not deſire to have the *Rapparees* in ſo near a Neighbourhood.

The Sixth we marched to *Ninagh*, where we ſtayed four dayes for want of Bread and other Neceſſaries, it being no ſmall difficulty to furniſh an Army with conſtant Supplies in a deſolate Country, when they are ſtill upon their march, and where every thing muſt be carried upon the Axletree. The Army march thither.

Friday

July. 1691. *Friday* the Seventh, The Lord Juſtice *Coningesby* came to the Camp, where he ſtaid nigh a Fortnight: And

Saturday the Eighth, a Party of Horſe and Dragoons with ſeveral Pioneers went towards the Silver Mines to mend the Roads for our heavy Carriages: Another Party at the ſame time marching towards *Killalow* Paſs, who brought in ſeven or eight Priſoners. A Brigadier of the Guards and two more *Horſemen* deſert the Enemy and inform us, that they were encamped nigh *Cariganlis*, and making what preparations they could to withſtand us, forcing all the Iriſh into Arms, that were within their Juriſdiction, and arming their Foot anew out of the Stores at *Limerick*, and that they talked of giving us Battle again before we ſhould approach the Town. The ſame day one Mr. *Richards* came from *Balderock O Donel* to our Camp, where he ſtayed two or three dayes, and then went towards *Dublin* in order to wait upon his Majeſty, who was then in *Flanders*. His buſineſs was to aſſure the General of *Balderooks* affections to their Majeſties Service, and that if he might have the Men he brought over with him admitted into pay in order to ſerve his Majeſty in *Flanders* or elſewhere, himſelf made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, to which he pretended a Title from his Anceſtors, and have two thouſand pounds given him for his expences, he would then come over to us, and bring a conſiderable Body of the Iriſh along with him. The General therefore conſidering that it was no ill policy to get the Iriſh to draw bloud one of another, conſented to ſome of *O Donnels* propoſals, and the buſineſs was ſhortly after compleated, tho' *Balderock* complained heavily that the

A Treaty with *Balderock O Donel.*

the thing ſhould be made publick to the great hinderance of the Numbers of Men he deſigned to bring off, and almoſt to the hazard of his own life, for this Treaty was firſt in the *Dublin Intelligence*, and then in the *London Gazette* dated *Auguſt* the 13*th*. which was before the thing was really compleated, but thoſe that have ſeen *Balderock*, will believe that it was partly his own fault. There was alſo an Officer ſent at the ſame time by Sir *Teague O Regan* from *Sligo* about the ſurrender of that place, the Articles being in a manner agreed to, but this buſineſs was afterwards delayed, and the Government obliged to be at the expence and trouble of ſending a Body of men from *Dublin* and other parts of the Kingdom to reduce it by force, and its confidently averred that this hapned meerly by the covetouſneſs of one of our Colonels, who had the Secreet of this Affair committed to his management. *Auguſt*, 169.

Auguſt the 9*th*. Lieutenant Colonel *Oxborough* of Colonel *Lutterill's* Horſe, his Lieutenant and their Attendance deſert, and come to our camp, and a Foot Officer with eleven Muſquiteers and their Arms came in alſo: A Man and a Woman were this day hanged in the Camp, the Man for robbing Tents, and the Woman for being acceſſary to the Murther of one of our Souldiers nigh *Gallway*. The time limited in the Lords Juſtices Proclamation dated *July* the 7*th*. being now expired, and the General willing ſtill to uſe all fair means poſſible to bring in the Iriſh without the effuſion of more Blood, he therefore orders the following Declaration to be prepared.

August, 1691.

By Lieutenant General Ginckell, *Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces.*

A Declaration from the General to the Irish.

THE Enemies of Their Majesties Government, and the Disturbers of the Quiet of this Kingdom having been very industrious to conceal the Grace and Favour which has been offered to such as should return to their Duty. To take away all manner of excuse for the future, from those that still continue in Arms, I have thought fit to publish, that tho' the Term prescribed by the Lords Justices in their Proclamation of the seventh of *July* is expired, so that no man can lay claim to the Condiscentions therein made; yet if within ten days from the date hereof, any Person or Persons shall do the Services therein mentioned, I promise with the Consent of the Lords Justices, who are thereunto impowered by Their Majesties, that they shall have a full and free Pardon of all Treasons, Crimes, and Offences by them committed against Their Majesties Government, and be restored to their Estates forfeited by the said Treasons, *&c.* And to shew their Majesties Bounty and Confidence

in

Auguſt. 1691.

in them that leave the Enemy, and have a mind to teſtifie their Zeal and Affection to Their Majeſties Service. I do hereby engage that all ſuch Officers and Souldiers as come off from the *Iriſh* with a Body of Men, or ſurrender any Town or ſtrong Caſtle into our Hands within the aboveſaid ten days, ſhall have if they deſire it the ſame or better Poſt or Employment in the Army then they left, and a Reward ſuitable to the Merit of the Service they perform, as thoſe have already had who have ſurrendred themſelves: But in caſe the Perſons invited by this Declaration ſhould neglect in time preſcribed to lay hold on the ſame, they muſt never more expect the like Advantageous Terms and Condiſcentions.

Given at the Camp by Nenah *the Eleventh Day of* Auguſt 1691. *in the Third Year of Their Majeſties Reign.*

Bar. *De Ginckell.*

The Army that day marched to a place called *Shalley*, in a wild and deſolate Country nigh the Silver-Mines, where in the former Wars, about ſeventeen of Sir *George Hambleton's* Followers were ſlain by the *Kenedies*, and here Major General *Trelawny's* Regiment joined us; the 12*th.* we marched to a place called *Tulla*, where we halted next day, and our

August, 1691. Advance Guards brought in one of the Enemies Out-ſcouts a Priſoner. Several Deſerters alſo come off to us, amongſt whom were two of the Horſe Guards, who inform the General that the Iriſh Foot were drawn into *Limerick*, and their Horſe having burnt ſeveral places that eſcaped their fury laſt year, were retired likewſe near the Town; we underſtand alſo that my Lord *Tyrconnell* was taken ſuddenly very ill, and there were ſeveral diſorders amongſt the Chief Officers in *Limerick*, ſome of them being ſuſpected to incline to our ſide: From hence the General ſent a Spy who took ſeveral of the Declarations in order to diſperſe them in Town.

The Army go to *Carigaliſs*. The 14*th*. we marched to *Carigaliſs*, and the General with the reſt of our Great Officers went with a Party within two Miles of *Limerick*, near which three of the Enemies Scouts being poſted upon the top of a round Hill towards our left, two of them deſerted to us as our Party drew off.

A Party go towards *Limerick*. The 15*th*. in the Morning early, fifteen hundred Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by Major General *Ruvigny*, and one thouſand detached Foot as a reſerve in caſe of danger commanded by the Prince of *Heſs*, with ſix Field-peeces were ordered to march towards *Limerick*, with whom went the General and all the Chief Officers in order to view the Town: The Enemy had lined the Hedges in ſeveral places with Foot, and there appeared two Squadrons of Horſe and a Party of a Dragoons about a Mile on this ſide the Town, who fronted our Men for ſome time, but when they ſaw our Advance Party reſolved to puſh them, they retired nearer home, and afterwards their Foot fired ſeveral Small-ſhot, but without any harm to us, tho' about ſeven of the Enemy were killed by our Dragoons: We ſtayed ſeveral hours within leſs then Can-

non.

non-ſhot of the Town, upon the Ground where we encamped the year before, we could ſee that they had repaired *Ireton*'s Fort and built another ſome diſtance to the Right, where formerly ſtood an Old Church, and a third was begun alſo with a Line of Communication from one to the other, but not as yet finiſhed, they had then two Field-peeces in *Ireton*'s Fort, but did not fire them, and drew them off to the Town next day. Whilſt we ſtaid there, firſt a Drummer, and then one *Hagan* a Captain came off to us, who informed the General that my Lord *Tyrconnell* died the day before; ſome ſay of Grief, becauſe things went not according to his deſire, and that after all his Endeavours and good Services to promote the Catholick Cauſe, he was ſlighted to that Degree, that whilſt their Camp lay by *Athlone*, one Lieutenant Colonel *Conner* came to my Lord's Tent and bid him be gone from the Camp, elſe he would cut his Tent-Cords: My Lord *Tyrconnell* knowing that he durſt not be ſo impudent without a conſiderable Faction to ſupport him, went next Morning early towards *Limerick*, where he remained till his death, which ſome ſay was not without ſuſpition of foul play, in being poiſoned with a Cup of *Rattafeau*, this is nothing but Apricock-ſtones bruiſed and infuſed in Brandy, which gives it a pleaſant Reliſh, ſome of which my Lord *Tyrconnell* had given him at an Entertainment; and falling ill upon it, he often repeated the word, *Rattafeau*, which made ſeveral believe that he had received Poyſon in that Liquor, becauſe he would not comply with the prevailing Faction then in Town. But moſt People ſay that he died of a Fever: However it was, he certainly had managed the Affairs of that Kingdom from his entrance upon publick Buſineſs to his dying day with as much dexterity and zeal for the Intereſt he

Auguſt, 1691.

My Lord *Tyrconnell* dies at *Limerick*.

August, 1691.

he * pretended to ſerve as any man could have done.

At the General's return from viewing the Town, he found a conſiderable quantity of Bread-Waggons come to the Camp under the Convoy of the Militia Horſe and Dragoons of the County of *Tipperary*, whom the General viewed and ſent home again. We had now a Train of nine 24 Pounders, nine 18 Pounders, and three Mortars with Ammunition and other Utenſils of War proportionable, which left *Athlone* on the 12*th*. under the care of Col. *Lloyd*'s Regiment and a Party the Militia, who were met upon the Road by the Earl of *Drogheda*'s and Colonel *Venner*'s Foot Regiments with a ſmall Party of Horſe, but the General remembring what hapned to our Train the year before, and that the ſame People were ſtill as induſtrious as formerly. Major General *la Forreſt* with a good Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons was ſent on the 16*th*. to meet our Cannon.

The ſame day a Captain and a Lieutenant deſert from the Enemy and confirm the Report of the death of my Lord *Tyrconnell*, and withal that *Francis Plowden* Eſq; (one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in the late King's time) had brought over a Commiſſion from the late King out of *France*, appointing Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Sir *Richard Neagle* and the ſaid *Francis Plowden* Eſq; to be Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, which Commiſſion lay dorment till my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s death, by which it appeared that his Adverſaries were like to prove too many for him if he had lived, and that tho' he had promoted the late King's deſires (tho' not his real Intereſt) to the utmoſt, and was of the ſame Religion too with himſelf, yet he was in a fair way of being ſerved as others had been before him.

We underſtood alſo that Colonel *Henry Lutterill* was not only ſuſpected to hold a Correſpondence with our Army

* As to his encouraging one *Jones* to Aſſaſſinate King *William* in the year 1690. proved by Original Letters under his own hand; I leave others hereafter to give a more particular account of.

Some of the Irish Officers ſuſpected for holding a Correſpondence with our Ar-

Army, but was taken into Cuſtody and tried for his life, in that he with ſome others had conſulted about the ſurrender of the Town, for which they deſigned to put him to death, but that they either wanted clear Proof, or elſe waited for Advice from *France* about it, but the occaſion of Colonel *Lutteril*'s confinment was upon the account of a Letter brought him by a Trumpeter from ſome great Officer in our Army when the Gariſon of *Gallway* was conveyed to *Limerick*, for the Trumpeter having given one to *Sarcefield*, denied his having any more Letters, but being threatned with hanging if ſearched and any more Letters found about him, he produced another to Col. *Lutterill*, upon which the ſaid Colonel and Lieut. Col. *Burk* that came from *Gallway* were both confined: They were jealous alſo of Brigadier *Clifford*, tho' they did not think fit at that time to take any great notice of it; all which accounts we had confirmed by a Pacquet of Letters intercepted upon the Road to *Killmalock*, amongſt which was one from a Prieſt giving the Iriſh great hopes of Victory after all, *For that God had ſcourged the Nation round for their ſins, and now he hoped he would caſt the Rod into the Fire.* That Afternoon Sir *John Hanmer* with his own Regiment, Colonel *Hales*'s, the *Brandenburg*, and a *Daniſh* Regiment of Foot, and Colonel *Coy*'s Horſe joyn the Camp, and thoſe with two Regiments more that came up with the Train made us a ſtronger Army then at the opening of the Campaign. *Auguſt*, 1691.

The 17*th*. the Weather being exceeding Stormy; Sir *William King* who had been formerly Governour of *Limerick*, but a Priſoner for part of theſe two years paſt, came to our Camp, who was very ſerviceable to the General both in his Advice, and otherways during the remainder of the Campaign. The 18*th*. Colonel *Lumley* went out with a Party of four hundred Horſe towards

A Party ſent towards *Charlevil*.

August, 1691. towards *Charlevili*, where we underſtood ſome of the Enemy had poſted themſelves, but having notice of our approach they quitted the place, tho' ſome of them were killed in the going off, and one Captain *Maſſey* ſtaied behind and fired his Piſtols at our Advance Party, but he and a Cornet being ſeized, and Protections found in both their Pockets, they were afterwards hanged as Deſerters.

A Party ſent towards *Charlevill.*

A Spy returns from *Limerick.* The 19*th.* A Spy ſent from *Tulla* to diſperſe the General's Declarations in *Limerick*, returned, having effected his buſineſs without being diſcovered, and ſome other people ſeized upon ſuſpition of doing it, he gave alſo a good Account how Matters ſtood then with the Iriſh, that their Horſe and Dragoons called 5000 in number, were encamped beyond the River in the County of *Clare*, that a vaſt number of *Creights* and their Cattle were all drawn towards the Town, and that the bad weather was as injurious to them as us, in that moſt of their Foot were in the Town, and in their works, which lying low were almoſt filled with Water, but that they had demoliſhed ſome of their new works on this ſide the Town, leaſt their men ſhould deſert from thence to our Army; and that the Iriſh talked of a Pacquet-Boat come from *France*, by which they were encouraged to hold out having promiſe of Proviſions, and immediate Succours to follow: The ſame day a Trumpet was ſent to *Limerick* about the exchange of ſome Priſoners we then had with the Iriſh that were taken formerly upon ſmall Parties in the Country. And on the 20*th.* two Troopers and a Dragoon deſert from the Enemy, but the weather was now ſo very bad that the Army could not move, and it was much feared that our Guns would not be got up the ways were grown ſo deep, however our men were not idle, but in the midſt of all the rain and wet they made Faggots, and other neceſſary Preparations to being the Seige. The

The General had now ſome ſuſpicion that *Balderock O Donnel* was not ſincere in what he had promiſed, as appears by his Letter ſent this day to Col. *Lloyd*, then on his march with the Guns; part of which was as follows. *An.* 1691. *Auguſt.*

SIR,

'BY a Letter this day received, I have ſome reaſon 'to apprehend that *O Donnel* is not ſo ſincere in his 'Treaty as is to be wiſhed: For that reaſon, aſſoon as you 'have convoyed the Cannon till they join the Detach-'ment under the Marqueſs *La Forreſt*'s Command, I would 'have you return with your Regiment to *Athlone*, and 'ſend the Northern Militia back to their Country, to 'prevent any Inroads he may make that way. But if 'you find that *O Donnel* ſubmits, as he promiſed, or that '*Sligo* is ſurrendred, you muſt continue your March ac-'cording to your former Orders, *&c.*

The General's Letter to Col. *Lloyd*.

Camp at Cariganleſs, *Aug.* 20.

But this was only Miſinformation, for *O Donnel* made it appear afterwards that he was ſincere in his Intentions, and that he had no mind to join with Sir *Teague O Regan*, as was ſuſpected. The 21*ſt* the Badneſs of the Weather increaſed, and ſeveral Regiments were forced to remove their Camps, the Water overflowing their former Ground. Major *O Conner* and nine more deſert the Enemy, and inform the General, that if we had either of the Paſſes at *Killalow* or *Bryans-Bridg*, a great many of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons would deſert. And this Evening our Tinboats came up to the Camp, being brought by Water from *Athlone* towards *Killalow*.

The General taking notice of the extravagant Rates the Sutlers and others that furniſhed the Camp with Proviſions, had raiſed their Goods to, he ſent out an Order that all Ale from *Dublin* or *Wickloe* ſhould be ſold at 6 *d.*

Orders about aſcertaining the Rates of Proviſions.

An. 1691. *August.* *per* Quart, all other Ale coming above forty Miles, at 5 *d.* and all under forty Miles, at 4 *d.* White Bread to be ſold at 3 *d.* a Pound, Brown Bread at 2 *d.* Claret at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* *per* Quart, Rheniſh at 3 *s.* Brandy at 12 *s.* *per* Gallon, *&c.* And that no Perſon ſhould preſume to exceed thoſe Rates, on the Penalty of forfeiting all his Goods, and ſuffering a Month's Impriſonment. But they preſently found out a Trick for this, and called all Drink that came to the Camp, *Dublin* or *Wicklow* Ale; and were ſo far from obſerving this Order, that Drink growing ſcarce towards the cloſe of the Campagn, they ſold their Ale at 14 *d.* *per* Quart. Another Order was likewiſe publiſhed about the buying of Cattle, as followeth.

By Lieutenant General Ginckell.

An Order againſt the buying of Cattle without the General's Licence.

'THat all Perſons may avoid the buying of Cattle of 'the Officers and Souldiers, which has hitherto 'been attended with great Inconveniences, I have thought 'fit to order and declare, That whoſoever ſhall buy any 'Cattle from any Officer or Souldier of the Army, with-'out Leave firſt had in Writing from my ſelf, ſhall for-'feit the ſaid Cattle to their Majeſties Uſe, and be deli-'vered to the Civil Magiſtrate to be proceeded againſt 'as a Receiver of ſtollen Goods. And for the Encou-'ragement of all thoſe who ſhall detect any of the ſaid 'Abuſes, I do farther direct, That whoſoever ſhall diſ-'cover any Cattle thus bought, and bring them, or ſo 'ſecure them that they be brought to my ſelf, ſhall have 'one half of the ſame for a Reward of his Pains and Care 'he has taken.

This Order was dated the day before, and now publiſhed in the Camp, which prevented a great many Followers of the Army from committing ſeveral Diſorders, that of themſelves they were very much inclined to.

August

August 22. the Weather begun to amend: and *Francis Burton* Eſq; was ſent by the General to the Squadron of Ships then in the River, with Orders for them to ſail nearer the Town. The 23*d* two hundred and fifty freſh Draught-Horſes were ſent out to haſten up the Train; and each Regiment was ordered to make ready 2000 Faſcines to begin the Work at *Limerick*. One *Dowdall* a Counſellor, and *Sheldon* a Lieutenant in the Iriſh Foot-Guards, deſert: and two Troopers and a Sutler were condemned at a Court Martial, the two Troopers for robbing, and the Sutler for buying Goods of them, contrary to the General's ſtrict Orders. That Evening alſo our Guns came within ſight of the Camp: and the Weather now ſeeming to promiſe us our wonted Succeſs, the General reſolved to move forwards; but ſince the Iriſh Army were all in and about the Town, and 'twas probable they might deſign us ſome Trouble in our Approach, therefore it was ordered that at break of Day next Morning the Army ſhould be ready to march, but without beat of Drum; ſix hundred Horſe, three hundred Dragoons, and one thouſand Firelocks, and two hundred Granadeers out of each Line for an Advance-Party: theſe were to march in two Lines at the Head of either Wing, with four Field-pieces each, and twenty five Pioneers a piece to cut down any Rubs that might be in their way; the whole Body of Horſe were to march after the detached Foot, with each Man three Faſcines before him, which they were to leave where ordered; ſo that the Enemy might ſee we were reſolved to ſpare no Pains, rather than go without the Town a ſecond time. Then all the Foot were to march, and after them the Train; and no Baggage whatever to march near the detached Party, who were to march directly to the Quakers Houſe, and there to make a Halt till the Foot came up. Then the Right Line to fall into the Road on the right Hand, and

An. 1691. *August.*

An. 1691. *August.* the Left Line on the other Road from the Quakers House: and all to draw up afterwards in order of Battel; so to march easily towards the Town, making several Halts to observe the Enemies Motion. These Orders I have set down, to shew the Reader the Method of approaching Towns, when an Army expects Opposition from an Enemy, though the Irish did not give us much disturbance in this. But before we leave *Carigaileß*, I know not whether it may be worth the Reader's while to be informed of a Tradition that the People in the Neighbourhood have concerning 2 old Castles that stand nigh half a Mile from this place, and not above a stone's cast one from another: they say that in former times two *Brehons*, or Irish Judges, lived in those two Castles, who hapned at last to have some Disputes about their Properties; and their Wives, though they were Sisters, used to stand upon the Battlements of their own Houses, and scold at one another for several hours together; which at length one of them being weary of, she found out a Trick only to appear and begin the Fray, then she would place an Image that she had dress'd up in her own Clothes, in such a posture as her Sister could not discern it from her self at that distance; who not sensible of the Cheat, she used to scold on, and at last fretted her self to death, because she could not be answered in her own Language. But I'm afraid the Women in this Country will scarce pardon this Story: And therefore according to the former Orders,

Our Army approaches the City of *Limerick*.

Friday the 25*th*, the Army marched towards *Limerick*, leaving two Regiments of Foot and one hundred Horse till the Cannon come up next day. Our Advance-Party of Horse and Dragoons met with no great Opposition, only some small firings between them and the Irish Out-Guards, with no great damage to either side. We made our Approaches much after the same manner we did the Year before, tho we drew more to the Left, and nearer the

the *Shannon*, but fix'd our Camp further from the Town. *An.* 1691. *August.*

When greateſt part of our Army was got up, our Detached Body of Foot, under the Command of Lieut. Gen. *Mackay*, was ordered to Attack *Ireton*'s Fort, and the old Church-Fort, where we expected the Enemy had lodged a Party; our Men made a Line croſs the Fields, and were ſuſtained by ſeveral entire Regiments of Foot, and a Body of Horſe. We advanced towards both the Forts at one time, and found the upper one deſerted: and when we came almoſt within Muſquet-ſhot of *Ireton*'s Fort, the Iriſh quitted that alſo, and retired towards a little ſtone Fort nigh the Outworks of the Town. Our Men ſeeing them draw off, ruſhed forwards and fired; but to no great purpoſe, for the Enemy, after ſome faint Returns, preſently lodged themſelves in the other Fort: And towards the Evening Count *Naſſau* with a Party attacked *Cromwel*'s Fort, ſtanding to the left of the other, which the Iriſh had made pretty defenſible, and wherein they had then about 500 Men lodged: Our Granadeers were in the Front, who were ſaluted with a Volley of Shot from the Enemy; but this being a thing they were now pretty well uſed to, they ran forwards, and threw in their Granades; and then being followed by the whole Party, the Iriſh in leſs than half an Hour left the Fort to our Diſcretion: We had only two or three killed, and the Enemy about ten, though ſome made them a great many more.

Oliver Cromwel, in the former Wars of *Ireland*, never went further than *Clonmel*; for there receiving Orders from the Parliament to go for *England*, he entruſted the Management of the Army to *Ireton*; who at the beſieging of *Limerick*, built ſeveral Forts; two of the moſt remarkable, bearing the Names of *Ireton*'s and *Cromwel*'s, were now ordered to be called *Mackay*'s and *Naſſau*'s

An. 1691. *Auguſt.* *ſau*'s Forts, becauſe gained under thoſe Commanders; and by thoſe Names we ſhall call them for the future, when there is occaſion to mention them. When we came up towards the Town, we found a Man newly hanged upon the Gallows, who the Iriſh ſaid was an Officer of theirs, and put there for endeavouring to deſert to our Army. The General having ſome Intimation of a Salley deſigned from the Town that Night, and judging it not improbable, ſince they had ſo good a Body of Horſe behind it, he commanded therefore that our Horſe ſhould not unſaddle, but each Troper to lie all Night by his Horſe's Head, to be ready upon the firſt Alarm. Col. *Donep*, who commanded our advance Party of Horſe, was killed that Evening by a random Shot; being a Gentleman who had a very good Character, both among the Danes and Engliſh.

The *26th* all our Train came up, as alſo a great many Carriages with Bombs, Ball, Shovels and Pickaxes, and 800 Barrels of Powder. This Night we broke Ground, and made our Approaches with no great loſs, caſting up ſome Works nigh the *Shannon* towards the Weſt, behind which the Danes encamped, and maintained that part of the Work during the Siege. We improved alſo theſe Forts deſerted by the Iriſh, and drew a new Line from the old Church Fort to *Mackay*'s.

The Prince of *Heſs* ſent to *Caſtle-Connel*.

The *27th* in the Morning the Prince of *Heſs* with his own Regiment, Col. *Tiffin*'s, and Col. *St. John*'s, five pieces of Cannon, and about 700 Horſe and Dragoons, marched to *Caſtle-Connel*, which we had not blown up effectually laſt Year, and wherein the Iriſh had now a Gariſon of 250 Men. They refuſed the Prince's Proffers to them at firſt; but after two Days Siege, were content to be all made Priſoners of War. The ſame Day Maj. Gen. *Scravemore* went with another Party, and four Guns, to *Carick-a-Gunnel*, a Caſtle upon the River, three miles

miles below the Town, wherein was a Garison of 150 Men, who also submitted to be Prisoners of War, as did one or two Castles more; the leaving these Detachments in such places being very inaccountable, since they had a mind to defend them no better. This seems rather want of Instructions what to do, than Courage to perform it; for to give the Irish their due, they can defend stone Walls very handsomly. We read that Sir *George Carew*, President of *Munster* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, took the Castle of *Dunboy* in the West of *Ireland* by Assault, where the Irish made the most resolute Defence of any of the like nature before or since; for the Garison being 130 choice Men, were all either killed or hanged for holding out; and some of them defended the very Vaults during a whole Night, though all the rest of the Castle was taken; and one *Mack Geoghagan* being desperately wounded, when he saw the English enter the Vault, he endeavoured to cast a lighted Candle into a Barrel of Powder to blow himself and them up together; but was prevented in his Design, and so died. *An.* 1691. *August.*

The Irish planted two Field-pieces on the opposite side the River, by which they obliged two Regiments of our Dragoons that lay close to the *Shannon* to remove; but as soon as we had placed some Guns to flank their small Battery, they drew off. Orders were given to fit up 600 Bombs, and 1000 Hand-Granades: and in the Afternoon eighteen of our Ships came up the River, within a mile of the Town, and fired some Shots into the Irish Horse-Camp as they sailed along, they being encamped at that time nigh the River, at a place called *Craightulagh*: This put several of the Irish much out of Countenance, for till then they were made believe, that either we had no Ships in the River, or else those we had would quickly be swallowed up by the French Fleet, which they hourly expected. Our Ships come nigh the Town.

The

An. 1691. *August.* The 28*th* an Order was ſent to *Kinſale*, for the reſt of the Proviſion-Ships then in that Harbour to ſail to the *Shannon*. And the General went on board ſome of thoſe Ships that came up the Day before, giving Command to bring on ſhoar ſeveral Pieces of new Cannon and Mortars; which was performed on the 29*th*. And all the Priſoners that had been taken in ſeveral Caſtles, being about 400 in number, were ſent towards *Clonmel*, with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons to guard them. This Evening our Line of Circumvallation was finiſhed, and our other Works, by hard labour, much improved; the Enemy playing hot upon us from the King's Caſtle, and three more Batteries. Our Buſineſs was now to raiſe a Battery for ten Guns and ſeven Mortars, which was performed before next Morning; and *Auguſt* the 30*th* our Guns and Mortars were drawn down to it: the firſt began immediately to play on *Thoumond*-Bridg, and the Houſes on that ſide the Town; at Night alſo our Bombs began to fly with pretty good Succeſs, 101 being thrown before next Morning.

The Enemy deſert *Killmallock*.

The Enemy now deſert *Killmallock*, a Town upon the Road between *Cork* and *Limerick*, whither the Iriſh flocked in great Numbers in former times, to welcome the Earl of *Deſmond* out of *England*, who was ſent over upon ſome Reaſons of State by Queen *Elizabeth*; their firſt Salutations were to throw Wheat and Salt upon him in token of Peace and Plenty: But next day, when they ſaw him go to Church, they fell to murmur, and ſpit at him, and never would own him more: And ſo hateful was not only our Religion, but even the Civil Habits and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh to ſome of them, that in the ſame Queen's Reign it was with much difficulty that ſome of the Iriſh Nobility could be perſwaded to put on their Robes, when they were to appear in the Houſe of Lords in time of Parliament. And I have heard it affirmed

firmed by thoſe that knew it, that even in this laſt War, and (if I am not much miſtaken) in the Parliament that was held at *Dublin* by the late King too, it was propoſed by ſome, to deſtroy all fine Houſes, and every thing elſe that look'd like Improvement, and ſo return to the former barbarous way of living of their Anceſtors, that it might not be worth the while for *England*, or any other Nation, to ſeek a new Conqueſt over them: but theſe Men did not conſider that *England* has been at too much Expence, and is now too well acquainted with *Ireland*, ever to be without it. *Auguſt*, 1691.

Auguſt 31. One Capt. *Morice*, a Lieutenant, and eleven Dragoons belonging to Sir *Donald O-Neal*'s Regiment, deſerted from beyond the River, and tell us, that the Enemy were mightily apprehenſive of our getting over; but that their Horſe and Dragoons would endeavour to watch our Motion, and do all they could to prevent us. Our Batteries play very hard all this Day; and at Night, four out of each Troop of Horſe and Dragoons throughout the Army, were ordered to work at a new Battery, to the Right of the former, and ſomewhat nearer the Town; they wrought very ſtoutly, and finiſhed their Battery before next Morning. This was a thing very unuſual for Horſemen, eſpecially to work in Trenches; but there was in a manner a Neceſſity for it, for our Foot were upon Duty by whole Regiments every ſecond Night, beſide Detachments and Workmen upon ſundry Occaſions every Day: And therefore Adjutant General *Withers* was commanded to order the Regiments that marched to the Trenches, not to mount with Colours, that the Enemy might not be ſenſible how faſt our Duty came upon us.

The ſame Day a Party of four hundred Horſe was ſent abroad to ſcour the Country: And Brigadeer *Leveſon*, Brigadeer *Leveſon* ſent into *Kerry*.

Auguſt, 1691. *veſon*, with ſeven hundred Horſe and Dragoons, went into the County of *Kerry*, to reduce the Iriſh in thoſe Parts: Which ſome of the Inhabitants in other Places will needs call the moſt natural Iriſh in the Kingdom; and yet they ſay, every Cow-boy amongſt them can ſpeak Latin, on purpoſe to ſave them from the Gallows, when they come afterwards to be tried for Theft: For though there be very ſevere Laws againſt it, and often put in Execution; yet Robbing, Plundering or Stealing, are accounted but ſmall Crimes amongſt the Natives, if not done to their Lords or Followers: for what they could purchaſe formerly, they thought it clear Gain, and Caſtles built to ſecure it; which thieviſh Spirit is not as yet quite baniſhed that part of the Country, nor ſcarce any other part of the Kingdom. And though this ſort of People have been always obſerved to have dexterous Faculties at more kinds of Miſchiefs than Stealing: yet it's no new Complaint, *That by long Uſe it is grown to a miſchievous Cuſtom in* Ireland, *that Rebels and Malefactors might, with the Money they had gotten by Pillage and Plunder, when they ſet Places on fire, procure for themſelves Proteſtions, and eſcape without Puniſhment.* Cox, *Vol.* 1. p. 415. Brigadeer *Leveſon*, at his going into *Kerry*, found the whole Country up in Arms againſt him; my Lord *Merion*'s and my Lord *Bretta*'s Horſe being there to aſſiſt the Rapparees.

About a Mile above *Limerick*, there lies a ſmall Iſland in the *Shannon*, called St. *Thomas*'s Iſland, where formerly ſtood a Chappel dedicated to that Saint, but now ruinous, though at preſent there are two or three ſmall Houſes in the Iſland, and ſome little Incloſures. Here the Iriſh had kept ſeveral of the Proteſtants belonging to the City, under a Guard, for ſome time paſt; and now

now they were releaſed by Major *Stroud*, who kept Guard at *Anighbegg* with a Party of the County of *Cork* Militia; the Iriſh Captain, and ſome others of their Guard coming off alſo with them. But what can be a greater Teſtimony of a rapacious Humour than this? for ſome of the Militia ſtripp'd their Fellow-Proteſtants of what the Iriſh had left them, as they conducted them from the Iſland to our Camp; which I would not have ſaid, but that I had it from the Mouths of thoſe very People that were ſo ſerved; who during their ſtay in Town with other Proteſtants of all ſorts, had ſhewed the greateſt Affection and Compaſſion imaginable to thoſe of our Army that were Priſoners there: but now the Scene was altered; and all the ſhift that themſelves could make for ſome days, was to make up little Places to creep into amongſt the Faſcines that lay on heaps by the General's Quarters, till our Waggons carried them farther off into the Countrey. *Auguſt*, 1691.

Major General *Talmaſh* commands in the Trenches.

This Night Major General *Talmaſh* commanded in the Trenches, by whoſe Diligence and Example the Works were run nearer, and much ſtrengthned, though the Enemy fired very briskly all Night, and did us ſome Damage. The Battery raiſed by the Troopers was alſo improved, (lying between *Naſſaw*'s Fort and the other Battery) and eight Guns brought down to it; but this being judged alſo too remote from the Town, the Guns were never planted.

What hapned in other Parts of the Kingdom this Month.

But it's now time to leave the Camp a little, and look backwards to ſee what was done in other parts of the Kingdom during this Month of *Auguſt*. And firſt at *Dublin*, there was great care taken to procure as many Horſes as could be got for the neceſſary Occaſions of the Army. Proviſions likewiſe of all ſorts and Ammunition were ſent up continually: and the Harveſt being now

August, 1691. almoſt ready, and very few Hands being left to take care of that Corn which the Iriſh had ſown in ſeveral places of *Connaught*, the Lords Juſtices therefore order a Proclamation to be publiſhed, *Auguſt* the fourth; "That "whereas ſince the Battel of *Aghrim*, and the Surrender "of *Galway*, the Farmers, Cottiers, and other Inhabi- "tants of *Connaught*, had withdrawn themſelves, ſo "that there were not Hands ſufficient to get in the Har- "veſt; It was therefore proclaimed, That all Farmers, "Cottiers and Under-Tenants following the Enemies "Camp, that ſhould within fifteen days return to their "Habitations in *Connaught*, and apply themſelves to the "bringing in the Harveſt, they ſhould not only quietly "and peaceably enjoy their ſeveral Farms as they for- "merly did, *&c.* but ſhould be fully and abſolutely pro- "tected, if not guilty of private Murder. And that all "Perſons that would mow the Graſs, and reap the Corn "upon the Land of ſuch Abſentees as would not return "themſelves, ſhould have one half of ſuch Corn and "Hay to their own proper Uſe, and be protected in the "quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion thereof, behaving them- "ſelves as good Subjects, and bringing the other half to "ſome convenient Place upon the Farm for the King's "Service.

But how good ſoever the Deſign might be, I heard of little Effect this Proclamation had: for ſeveral of the Iriſh laſt Spring had plowed and ſown their Lands in *Connaught*, hoping we would never come thither; and thoſe that did not plow, expected to come over, and get enough on our ſide the *Shannon*: but when they were diſappointed in both theſe, they would yet go along with the Crowd in hopes of returning again in a ſmall time. And it's obſervable that there have not been ſo many Marriages

riages for many Years before amongſt the Iriſh, as was laſt Winter in *Limerick*, *Galway*, and all *Connaught* over; whether it was out of confidence that they ſhould certainly be Maſters of the Kingdom after all, or elſe that they were crowded into a narrower Compaſs, and ſo had the more Opportunities of Courting, I leave others to judg. *Auguſt*, 1691.

Auguſt the fourth, Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Dragoons being left at *Galway* when the Army moved from thence, march'd now to *Portumna* and *Athenree*; and a hundred Foot detached under Major *Smith*, to *Loughrea*.

By Letters from *Caſhell*, *Auguſt* 5. the Government had notice that great Heats and Debates aroſe daily amongſt the great Officers in the Iriſh Army; and that ſome Perſons endeavouring to get off for *France*, were forced back again, and the Ship taken, wherein the Goods belonging to Monſieur *Saint Ruth*, the late General, were on board; and that ſeveral Ladies were forced aſhore in *Kerry*, or obliged to return to *Limerick*; and that a Privateer brought into *Rye* a Prize of ſix Guns and ſix Patereroes, bound from *Limerick* to *France*, having ſeveral Paſſengers on board; amongſt the reſt, my Lord *Abercorne*, who was killed in the Fight, as were ſeveral more killed and wounded on both ſides. What Letters and other Papers they had, could not be recovered, for they threw them over-board.

Nigh this time Colonel *Mitchelburn* with his own Regiment, and a Party of the Militia, inveſt *Sligo*; and Terms were propoſed, but not agreed to, as is already ſaid.

Part of the *Virginia* Fleet, being ſeventy two Sail of Merchant-Ships, came into *Kinſale* Bay on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, under the Convoy of the *Experience* and the *Wolf*, forty Sail more of them being gone to *Briſtol*.

Auguſt

Auguſt, 1691.

Auguſt the 13*th*, three Leagues Weſt of Cape *Clear*, a French Man of War met with 14 Engliſh Merchant-Men homewards bound from *Antego*, *Mevis* and *Monſerat*, and took two of them, the reſt eſcaping into *Cork* and *Baltimore* Havens. Two of our Men of War went in queſt of the French-man, but could not meet with him. My Lord *Kinſale* leaves the Enemy, and comes to *Kinſale*: and ſeven Rapparees were killed at a place called *Montervary* in the County of *Cork*. *Croneen*, *Devane* and *Sexton*, three noted Rogues, were killed; and one *Murphey* taken near *Macroomp* by Major *Fenwick*.

Auguſt the 16*th*, ſome Iriſh Souldiers that eſcaped at the Battel of *Aghrim*, and afterwards ſet up for themſelves, took a Prey of Cattle near *Kinſale*, and drove it fifteen Miles; but being purſued by a Party of the Militia, four of them were killed, and the Prey recovered. Nigh the ſame time a Dutch Veſſel loaden with Wine and Salt, came into *Bantry Bay*; and ſome of *O Donevan*'s Men ſurprized her at Anchor: but Col. *Beecher* with four Boats, manned with a Party of his Militia, came about from the Iſland of *Shartin*, and retook the Ship, forced twelve of the Iriſh into the Sea, who were drowned, and took twenty four more of them that had got into their Boats.

Auguſt the 17*th*, one hundred and forty Commiſſion-Officers, taken at *Ballymore*, *Athlone* and *Aghrim*, were ſent on board ſeveral Ships with a Guard of *Dublin* Militia, conducted by the *Monmouth* Yatch, and to be delivered to the Governour of *Cheſter*. Capt. *Darby* of the *Leap* kills eight Rapparees in an Iſland near *Birr*. And *Auguſt* the 20*th*, Capt. *Dunbar* was ſent by Sir *Henry Bellaſis* Governour of *Galway*, to take poſſeſſion of the Iſland and Gariſon of *Buffin*, which he had obliged to ſubmit upon the following Articles.

Articles

August, 1691.

Articles and Capitulations agreed upon by Sir Henry Bellaſis *Governour of* Galway, *and Colonel* Timothy Royrdan *Governour of* Buffin, *concerning the Surrender of the ſaid Iſland and Gariſon.*

'*Firſt*, That the ſaid Iſland of *Buffin*, and the Fort 'thereof, and the adjacent Iſlands belonging to the 'Earl of *Clanrickard*, ſhall be ſurrendred to ſuch Offi-'cers as ſhall be appointed by the Governour of *Gal-'way*, with all the Stores, Ammunition, Proviſions and 'Magazines of all ſorts, without Imbezelment, ſo ſoon 'as the Governour of *Galway* ſhall think fit to ſend 'thither after Captain *Nicholas Blake*'s return from 'thence.

'*Secondly*, In Conſideration of the Surrender as a-'foreſaid, the Gariſon ſhall march forth with flying 'Colours, Drums beating, Match lighted, Bullet in 'Mouth, and as much Ammunition as each Officer and 'Souldier can carry with him.

'*Thirdly*, That the Governour, Officers and Souldi-'ers of the ſaid Gariſon, the Lord *Athcery*, Lieutenant 'Colonel *John Kelly*, and all the Inhabitants of the ſaid 'Iſlands, ſhall poſſeſs and enjoy their Eſtates Real and 'Perſonal, as they held, or ought to have held under the 'Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherways, by 'the Laws of this Kingdom, freely diſcharged from all 'Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and all other Charges to 'the Date hereof: And that Col. *John Brown* his being 'in *Buffin*, ſhall not bar him from the Capitulations of '*Galway*: and that if the ſaid Colonel *John Brown* ſhall

'deſire

Auguſt, 1691. ‘ deſire to go to *Limerick*, the Governour of *Galway* promiſes that he ſhall be ſafely conducted thither with his ‘ Horſes, Servants and Arms.

‘ *Fourthly*, That the Governour, Officers and Souldiers, ‘ and other the Inhabitants thereof, by any Grant of King ‘ *James* the Second, before his Abdication, or any of ‘ his Anceſtors, ſhall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treaſons, Felonies, Premunires, ‘ and other Offences committed ſince the ſaid K. *James*'s ‘ Reign, to the Date hereof.

‘ *Fifthly*, That the Gariſon, Officers and Souldiers, ‘ ſhall be tranſported from thence, either to *Galway*, or ‘ the River *Shannon*, in order to go to *Limerick*, or otherways march over Land with ſafe Conduct, as to ‘ the Governour ſhall ſeem fitteſt; with Arms, Bag and ‘ Baggage, as aforeſaid.

‘ *Sixthly*, That the Governour of *Buffin* ſhall be furniſhed, if need be, with neceſſary Horſes to carry his ‘ Equipage to *Limerick*.

‘ *Seventhly*, That any of the Inhabitants of the ſaid ‘ Iſland that ſhall deſire it, may go or be tranſported to ‘ *Limerick*, with their Goods, along with the Gariſon, ‘ and be as ſafely conducted as they; and that if ‘ they ſhall march by *Galway*, the ſaid Souldiers, if ‘ they ſhall need it, ſhall be furniſhed with four ‘ Days Proviſion of Bread for their march to *Limerick*.

‘ *Eighthly*, That Capt. *Michael Cormack*, and Capt. *Dominick Brown*, if they will, may ſtay and remain in the ‘ ſaid Iſland, and enjoy their Stock, Corn, and other Goods, ‘ under ſafe Protection, with their Servants and Families. And that if any of the Gariſon, Officers or ‘ Souldiers, or any of the Inhabitants, ſhall deſire to ſtay, ‘ they may, with the like Advantage, and one Prieſt.

‘ That

'That if any Ships ſhall happen to be at *Buffin*, at the time of the Surrender, they ſhall have free liberty to go out of that Harbour; and that the ſaid Capt. *Michael Cormuck*, and Captain *Dominick Brown*, may go to any place in the County of *Mayo*, where their Concerns are, and there remain, with their Corn, Goods and Stock as aforeſaid. *Auguſt*, 1691.

'*Ninthly*, That for the due perfecting of theſe Articles, Captain *Nicholas Blake* is immediately to repair to *Buffin*, to have them ſigned by Colonel *Royrdan* the Governour of that Place, and in eight Days to return with them ſo Signed: And for aſſurance of his return, he hath given Lieut. Col. *John Kelly*, and Capt. *Richard Martin*, as Security.

'*Tenthly*, The Governour of *Galway* promiſes, that the General ſhall have theſe Articles and Capitulations ratified, after ſuch manner, and within ſuch time as the Articles of *Galway* ſhall be.

'That for due performance of theſe Articles and Capitulations, the Governour of *Galway*, and the Governour of *Buffin*, have interchangeably Signed and Sealed them, the 19*th* Day of *Auguſt* 1691.

Signed and Sealed in the preſence of *Tim. Royrdan.*

Geo. Dunbar,
Anthony Tellett.

This and the Iſle of *Arran* lie ſome Leagues to Sea from the Mouth of the Bay of *Galway*; in the former of which there is a ſtrong Fort, with about a dozen Guns; in both which Iſlands there always have been Gariſons kept.

Auguſt, 1691. Nigh this time three of the Militia were killed in the Bog of *Allen* by *Mackabe*'s Party; and two days after four of the Rapparees were kill'd, and *Mackabe* himſelf narrowly eſcaped, with the loſs of two more of his Men, himſelf being forced to ſtrip and run croſs the Bog. The Militia now were very active about the Bog of *Allen*, and killed five more at one time, and ten in a few days after; amongſt whom was the White Serjeant, which occaſioned ten more of the Crew to come in and ſubmit.

We had now an Account that our Fleet was at *Torbay*, and the French Fleet at *Breſt*; but that ours had Orders to put to Sea again in ten Days.

Auguſt the 25*th*, a thouſand Militia Foot, under Colonel *Rorger Moore*, and five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, with three Field-pieces, march'd from *Dublin* towards *Sligoe*, making, with Detachments from other Counties, in all five thouſand Men, to be commanded by the Earl of *Granard*, to whoſe Conduct the reducing of that troubleſome Fort was now committed.

And towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, ſome Rapparees ſtealing Cows nigh *Cork*, ſix of them were kill'd, and four executed; two more were hanged at *Carlow* by Sir *Thomas Butler*'s Orders, and one of *Mackabe*'s Servants kill'd: and thus ended the Month of *Auguſt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Our Bombs ſet the Town on fire. The Iriſh deſign a Salley, but are repulſed by my Lord Drogheda's *Regiment. Brigadeer* Leveſon *routs a Party of the Iriſh in* Kerry. *A Deſign to paſs the River. A new large Battery made towards the King's Iſland. A Breach made. Some thoughts of ſtorming it. Guns planted nigh St.* Thomas's *Iſland. The Cannon and Bombs play at the Cathedral; and why. Colonel* Earl *ſent into* England. *Rejoicing in the Camp for the Defeat of the Turks. My Lord* Lisburn *killed. A Party ordered to paſs the River by a Bridg of Boats. The Iriſh in a great Conſternation. The Caſtle on the* Weir *taken. Debates whether the Siege ſhould be continued, or turned into a Blockade. Orders in caſe of an Alarm. Some Guns ſhipp'd. Our Men paſs the River a ſecond time. The Attack at* Thoumond *Gate. Six hundred of the Enemy killed. A remarkable Paper found in the Pocket of a Colonel in the Iriſh Army. The Enemy beat a Parley. A Ceſſation agreed to. Hoſtages exchanged. The Iriſh Propoſals, rejected by the General. Articles agreed to. The General's Letter to Sir* Ralph Delaval, *giving him an Account of the Ceſſation. A brief Account of what happened in other Parts of the Kingdom during this Month.*

September the Firſt, Col. *Wcolſley*, with a Party of 500 Horſe and Dragoons went towards *Killalow*, it being reported that *Sarsfield* was moving that way, upon ſome ſecret Expedition, into our Quarters. All laſt

September, 1691. Night, and that Morning, our Bombs and Cannon plaid upon the Town, ſetting it on fire in ſome Places, which was no ſmall trouble to thoſe within to put it out. It was ordered that Afternoon, that moſt of our Guns and Mortars ſhould be ſhipp'd again; and at Night Maj. Gen. *Tettau* commands in the Works. A little after our Guards were relieved, we underſtood the Iriſh deſigned a Salley; in order to which, a conſiderable Body of their Men advanced towards our Works, between *Naſſau*'s Fort, and the great Battery where the Earl of *Drogheda* with his Regiment was then upon Duty. His Lordſhip perceived the Iriſh were coming, and therefore ordered his Men not to fire till they ſhould advance within Piſtol-ſhot of us, and then to give them a whole Volley: But the Souldiers perceiving the others Approach, would not forbear to ſhoot amongſt them, which was the reaſon that the Iriſh could not be perſwaded to advance any further, though they had then a very good Opportunity, ſince there was but one Regiment at that time to defend above 300 Yards of the Works. We had one Man kill'd, and two wounded, and were in a ſmall time reinforced by Col. *Venner*'s Regiment, and a Party of Horſe were ſent down, to remain all Night as near the Works as they could conveniently. The Guns plaid, and Mortars alſo, for ſome part of the Night; but the General ſaw that our Batteries were too far off, and therefore new Meaſures were conſulted on.

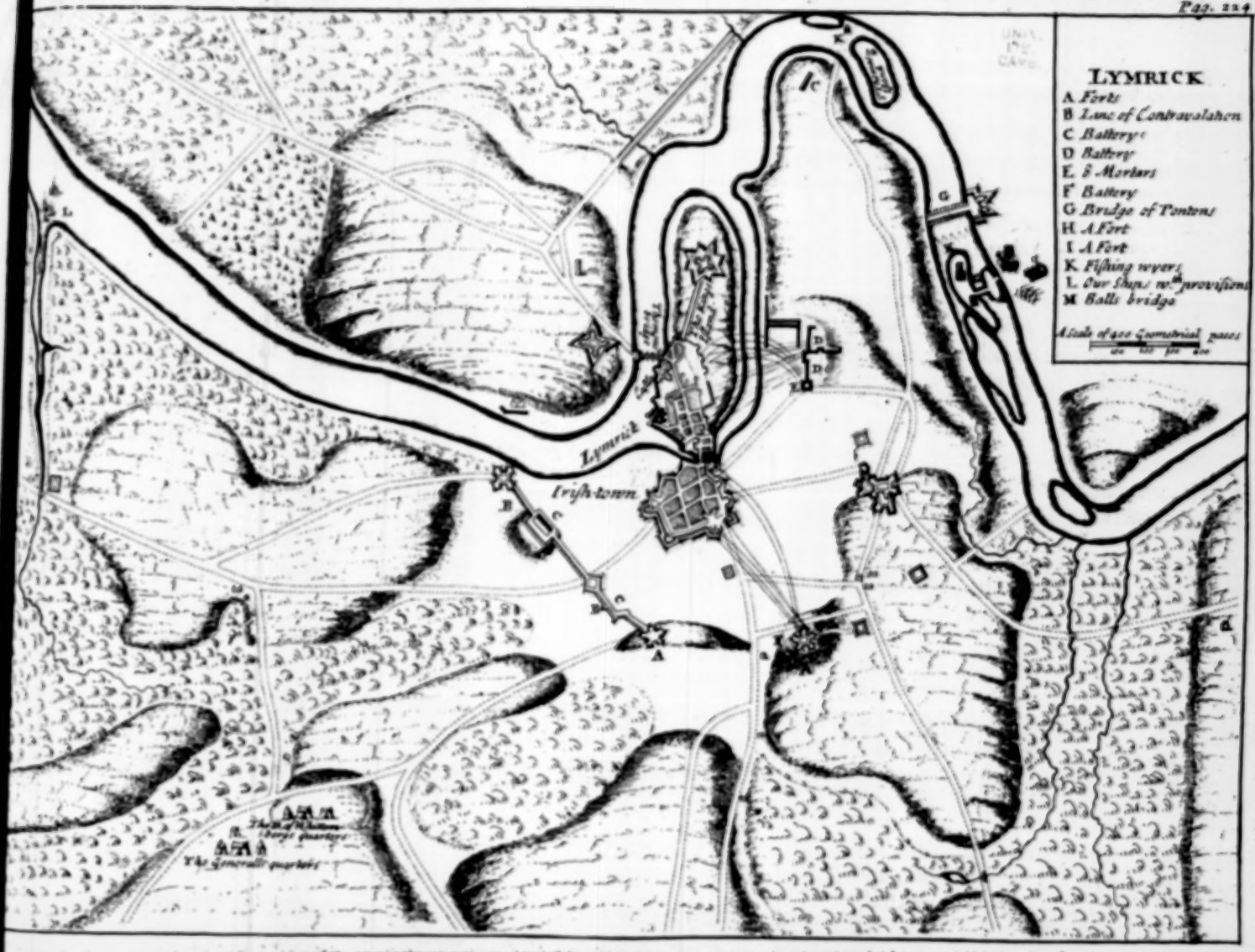
Our Bombs ſet the Town on fire.

The Iriſh intend a Salley,

But are repulſed by my Ld *Drogheda*'s Regiment.

The Second in the Morning early, came an Expreſs from Brigadeer *Leveſon*, then at *Newmarket*, or thereabouts, to acquaint the General, that having intelligence on Monday in the Evening, where my Lord *Merion*'s and my Lord *Britta*'s Regiments of Horſe lay; he march'd as privately as he could that way; and about one a Clock in the Morning he fell in with them, killing ſeveral, and diſperſing

Brigadeer *Leviſon* routs a Party of the Iriſh.


LYMRICK
A Fort
B Line of Contravalation
C Battery
D Battery
E 8 Mortars
F Battery
G Bridge of Pontons
H A Fort
I A Fort
K Fishing weyer
L Our Ships w.th provisions
M Balls bridge
A Scale of 400 Geometrical paces
Lymrick
Irish-town
The Generall quarters

diſperſing the reſt; my Lord *Merion* himſelf eſcaping very narrowly. Then he divided his Party to purſue their broken Troops; but they knowing the Countrey, made moſt of them a ſhift to eſcape. My Lord *Caſtle-connel* and his Lady were taken Priſoners, or rather came to the Brigadeer, having fared very indifferently in the Enemies Quarters all Summer. Major *Wood* being earneſt in the Purſuit, broke his Leg by the fall of his Horſe. *September*, 1691.

A Council of War was this day held, and alſo a Court Martial, whereof the Earl of *Drogheda* was Preſident; at which, amongſt other things, a Woman was condemned for endeavouring to intice ſome of our French Souldiers into Town, whom ſhe took to be Roman Catholicks. This Evening two great Mortars, 18 Inches and an half Diameter, that were brought from Ship-board, were mounted, and ſeveral Bombs thrown; but they did not do the hoped-for Execution: which occaſioned the drawing them and the Guns off from the Batteries, with a deſign to attempt ſomething elſewhere, or, if it could be, to paſs the River: which the Enemy having private notice of, they removed their Horſe-Camp about two Miles to the North-Eaſt of *Limerick*, poſting four Regiments of Dragoons to guard the *Shannon* below *Anighbegg*, where they had three Regiments of Foot lay intrenched. The Cannon however had been ſo troubleſom to the Inhabitants, that moſt of them left the Town, and encamp'd under Sheets and Blankets, with what elſe they could procure, nigh a Party of their Horſe, where they and their Army wanted nothing ſo much as Salt. The General ſeeing the Enemies Camp removed, went to a convenient Place to view them. A Deſign to paſs the River.

The third, the Guns and Mortars put on board, were again unſhipp'd, (upon new Meaſures being taken) and brought up to the Artillery-Ground. One of Col. *Nugent's*

September, 1691. *gent*'s Dragoons deſerted from the Enemy, leaving them the Night before, and ſays that 17 Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons belonging to their Army, were moſt of them at that time beyond the River, but neither well equipp'd nor clad, nor were the Regiments nigh full.

The *4th*, Lieut. Col. *Peck* with the Princeſs *Ann*'s Regiment, came to the Camp: and in the Evening a Party of 300 Horſe and Dragoons were ſent to reinforce Brigadeer *Leveſon*: and ſome Reports there were that he was ſurrounded by the Enemy; upon which the General ſent to him to return: but it proved only a Prey of Cows that the Enemy had taken from ſome of the Countrey-People, who had bought them from the Brigadeer's Party at the Rout they gave the Iriſh. However, the Brigadeer had Orders afterwards to ſecure the County of *Kerry*, and to endeavour the reducing the Enemies Gariſons there, ſix Guns being ordered for that Service. For the Enemies keeping ſome ſmall Gariſons between our Camp and *Cork*, was a great Diſadvantage to us in point of Proviſions, which otherwiſe we might have expected Plenty of from that part of the Countrey. The Duke of *Wyrtemberg* (as 'tis ſaid) by the Advice of my Lord *Caſtle-connel*, who was come to our Camp, had now found out a Place for a new Battery, nigh the *King's Iſland*, on the River-ſide, which was thought nearer the Town than the former, and from whence we could batter the Engliſh Town more effectually. This Place in our publick Accounts was ſaid to be within Carbine ſhot of the Wall, and yet it was at leaſt 300 Yards from it. Nor was there any Conveniency to raiſe a Battery any nearer againſt this part of the Town, by reaſon of the River to the Right, and a low Moraſs Ground on the Front. But ſome Diſputes about this new Battery were raiſed before it ſelf, though at laſt it was concluded on;

A new Battery contrived nigh the *Kings Iſland*

and

and ſeveral Regiments both of Horſe and Foot were ordered to move towards the Right, as well for the ſecurity of our Battery, as to front the Iriſh Army who were gone that way before us. We were at work alſo very hard upon a Line of Contravallation, raiſing three or four new Forts between the old Church and the *King's Iſland*, to ſecure the remaining part of our Army, in caſe ſome of them ſhould be commanded over the River. *September*, 1691.

September the *5th*, in the Evening we begun to work at our new Battery. At firſt the Enemy did not diſcover us; but after ſome time the Moon ſhining very bright, they found us out, and fired both great and ſmall Shot very laviſhly, killing five or ſix; but ſtill the reſt went on bravely with their Work, and had ſoon brought it into ſuch a Condition as to ſecure themſelves. The Battery begun.

The *6th*, one *Barnwell* deſerted the Enemy, and tells us they ſeem reſolved to defend the Town, which they might do, except we paſſed the River, having all the County of *Clare* open to go out and in at pleaſure. Our Men work ſtill at the Battery, which being deſigned for a great many Guns, it could not be finiſhed in one Night, tho the Rain did us ſome Damage. This Night ſome Townſmen ſwam over the River, and confirm the Account given by *Barnwell* the day before, that the Iriſh reſolve not to give us the Town except we paſs the River, ſince they had a free Paſſage to bring in and take out what they pleaſed: and amongſt other things, they had forty Chirurgions Cheſts that landed from *France* in *Kerry*, which were conveyed croſs the River, and ſo into Town at *Thoumond* Gate. They informed us alſo that moſt of the Towns-people having left it, and the Souldiers lying continually in the Works, our Bombs did not do that Execution that was hoped for: but that upon whatever Houſe a Bomb fell, the Iriſh Souldiers preſently ruſhed in

September, 1691. in and plundered it. And tho the Weather ſeemed to threaten us, yet this was no great Diſcouragement; ſince if it came to the worſt, we had now our Ships in the River, and could at any time put our Guns on board, which Conveniency we wanted the Year before.

The General had now an Account from Brigadeer *Leveſon* out of *Kerry*, that the Enemy according to their uſual way of deſtroying, had burnt *Tralee*; and that he had ſecured two of the Iriſh Captains that were active in that Affair: upon which he ſent the following Anſwer.

Camp at Limerick, *Sept.* 6. 1691.

SIR,

SInce my laſt to you I have received your Letter of the and notwithſtanding what I writ about your returning to the Camp, I now deſire you will ſtay with your Detachment in Kerry *for the Safety of that Countrey, and ſecure your ſelf there as well as you can. I have ſent you the Princeſs of* Denmark's *Regiment, to be diſpoſed of as you ſhall judg beſt. As for thoſe two Captains that burnt* Tralee, *I would have them both hanged if they cannot produce Major General* Sarsfield's, *or the Orders of the Commander in Chief for what they did: and then I deſire you'll reſpite their Execution till you ſend me a Particular of their Caſe.*

To Brigadeer *Leveſon.* Bar. de Ginckell.

September the 7*th*, this Letter was ſent the Brigadeer (then encamp'd at *Lixnaw*) by Capt. *William Fitz-Maurice*, of the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment, and Son to the Lord of *Kerry*, who this Morning left the Camp, with about twenty or thirty of that Country-Gentlemen in his Company, having alſo an Order for a Guard of Horſe and Dragoons from *Asketon*. But next Day coming to *Liſtoell*, within five Miles of the Brigadeer's Party, one of

of the Enemies Dragoons miſtaking them for a Party of their own Men, came haſtily up and told them, he was at firſt afraid they had been Engliſh, but that my Lord *Merion*'s, my Lord *Britta*'s, Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, Sir *James Cotter*'s Dragoons, with a Body of between 3 and 4000 Iriſh, lay behind the Hill; this Fellow they immediately ſhot for his pains, and ſent to give the Brigadeer notice of their Danger, making all convenient haſte towards *Lixnaw*: But the Enemy ſoon had notice of them, and drew out ſeveral Parties to intercept their Paſſage; our Men however, with ſome difficulty, gained a Paſs: and yet the Iriſh ordered the matter ſo, as to be in a fair way to deſtroy them all, had not the Brigadeer appeared with a Party in the mean time; for having received an Account that the Iriſh were got into a Body in ſuch a place, he was going then with a Party to diſcover them, not knowing the Danger our own Men were in. Upon the Brigadeer's approach, when our Men underſtood who it was, they gave a Huzzah: At which the Iriſh began to draw off; and being in great Confuſion, by reaſon of their eager haſte to purſue our ſmall Party, the Brigadeer fell upon them in that poſture, and killed about thirty, taking Lieut. Col. *O Ryan*, and about thirty more Priſoners, the reſt making too great haſte to the Woods and Bogs to be overtaken. Our Party then went to the place where the Iriſh Camp had been, and found two Barrels of Powder, with a great deal of other Luggage, left behind. *September*, 1691.

At *Limerick* the Enemy fired very briskly upon us all that day, with eight Guns which they had planted in the King's Iſland, and other places: However we finiſhed the Platform of the great Battery, and the flooring for the Mortars.

September, 1691.

The Batteries finiſhed, and play upon the Town.

September the 8*th*, our new Batteries were all ready; one to the left of ten Field-pieces, to ſhoot red hot Ball; another to the right, of 25 Guns, all 24 and 18 Pounders; and in the Center were placed eight Mortars, from 18 Inches 3 quarters, to 10 ½ Diameter: theſe ſtood altogether upon the North-eaſt of the Town nigh the Iſland: then there were 8 Guns of 12 pound Ball each, planted at *Mackay*'s Fort; and ſome alſo towards the River on the South-weſt, where the Danes were poſted: Thoſe fell to work all at a time, and put the Iriſh into ſuch a fright, that a great many of them wiſh'd themſelves in another place, having never heard ſuch a Noiſe before, nor I hope never ſhall in that Kingdom. One of the great Mortars had a Shell burſt in her, flinging the Mortar and Carriage nigh two yards from the flooring; which is demonſtration, that the firing the Fuſe before you give fire to the Mortar, is neither the readieſt nor the ſafeſt way; but this was the method of all our Foreign Bombardeers: tho one Lieut. *Brown*, afterwards at *Mackay*'s Fort, made uſe of a much better way, as ſhall in time be related. We threw Bombs, Fire-balls and Carcaſſes all day long, and our Guns were diſcharged almoſt without ceaſing; by which there appeared a conſiderable Breach in the Wall, within the King's Iſland, between the Abbey and *Ball*'s Bridg; and our Bombs, Fire-balls and Carcaſſes, had the like ſucceſs upon the Houſes in Town.

A Breach made

The *9th* more Proviſion-Ships are ordered from *Cork*, under the *Smirna*-Merchant. We improved our Forts between the old Church and our great Battery; and our Guns fire all day at the Breach, by which it was widened to a great Degree, and alſo a great many Houſes beat down: we diſmounted alſo two Guns from a Spur in the King's Iſland nigh *Balls-Bridg*, and play'd from *Mackay*'s Fort upon

upon four Guns more that disturbed us, from a Place where their black Battery was the Year before. The Enemy had cast up a Blind to prevent our beating down *Balls-Bridg*, but as our Battery was planted, the Blind was ineffectual, though we did not mind the Bridg much on that Side. A great many Bombs and Carcasses were thrown into Town, which set it on fire; and we understood afterwards that several People were killed in the indeavouring to quench it. That Morning all the empty Casks in the Army were ordered to be taken up and carried to the Artillery, where they were to be made use of when there was occasion for Floats. The Enemy that Afternoon made a Pretence of sallying; and some of them came out to secure a Ditch not far from our Battery, but were soon repulsed, and several of them killed, with the Loss of one Granadeer on our Side. There was also a Work begun close to the River-Side, adjoining to the Island, but the Spring-Tide over-flow'd it next Day. Though several Woolsacks were carried down in order to make an Attack upon the Island, and from thence upon the Breach; but this being found difficult, the Woolsacks were left with a Sentinel upon them at Night; which the Irish perceiving, some of them came over the River in the Night in Cots, and burnt several of the Woolsacks, the Sentinel looking on, and alledging for an Excuse, *That he had no Orders to fire.* The General gave Command to draw off the Guns from *Mackay*'s Fort, to some more convenient Place: But Colonel *Wythers*, Adjutant General, informing him what Execution some that were planted there did in the Town the Year before, he ordered them to continue firing, which they did to very good purpose.

September 1691.

Some thoughts of storming it.

September, 1691.

Sept. 10. There was an Order for a Pinnace and its Crew to attend *Francis Burton* Esq; who made several Journeys into the County of *Clare*, and had so ordered the Matter, that *Clare*-Castle was to be delivered up to us, though for some Reasons the General neglected the Opportunity till it was included in the General Capitulation. In the Morning one Capt. *Debbin*, a Quartermaster, and Serjeant, desert the Enemy, and told us, that the Bombs did great Execution in the Town, and had killed several: Our Guns fire very hard all that Day, and in the Evening a Bomb fell into a store of Wine, Brandy, Oats and Bisket, spoiling a great part of it. The Town was also set on fire in several Places, which burnt great part of the Night: And that Evening two Mortars were brought from on Board, and planted at *Mackay*'s Fort, being managed by Lieutenant *Brown*, Lieutenant to Capt. *Pitts* Miners, who did more Execution than all the rest, firing three for one of theirs, and throwing the Bombs very exact; he neither made use of Sand upon the Bomb, nor fired the Fuse; but putting it into the Mortar with the Fuse down, the Flash of the Powder kindled the Fuse as it was discharged from the Mortar. Colonel *Wythers* was sent by Sea, and *Robert Powley* Esq; by Land, to hasten up our Fleet, which we understood was at *Cork*, the General having some Accounts that the French designed to relieve the Town.

Lieuten. *Brown* our best Bombardeer.

On the *11th* the Breach was widened at least forty Paces; and Floats being prepared, there were great Debates amongst the chief Officers whether it should be attempted by Storm, (tho most say it was only designed at first for the more conveniency of battering the Town;) Deserters telling us of a great Ditch without the Wall, always full of Water, and well pallisado'd, besides several Works within, which would have rendred the Attempt

tempt very hazardous: but afterwards we found little Truth in this, though indeed we could not do the Enemy a greater Pleaſure, nor our ſelves a greater Prejudice in all Probability, than in ſeeking to carry the Town by a Breach, before thoſe within were more humbled, either by Sword or Sickneſs: for we underſtood certainly that they had as many Men within as we without; beſides the Hazard in getting into, or keeping the King's Iſland, where there ſtood a moſt excellent Fort with a double Line of Communication from thence to the Town, mann'd for the moſt part by the beſt of their Dragoons diſmounted. Part of the Guns however were drawn off from *Ireton*'s Fort to a new Battery, which was to the Right of the great one; and ſome planted nigh St. *Thomas*'s Iſland, to cut off the Iriſh Communication by a large Cauſey that led that way towards the Town. Five Deſerters came off, who tell us of ſome Officers killed upon the Key by a Bomb; that they had only two Tuns of Powder in Town, and that their Stores were a great part of them buried in Ruines. Some of Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Officers gave the General an Account from Lieutenant Colonel *Ecklin*, that Sir *Albert* was killed by a Party of the Iriſh at *Colloony*, nigh *Sligoe*, where they ſurprized him in the Morning early, moſt of his Dragoons ſhifting for themſelves; and *Balderock O Donnel*, who then had joined him, very hardly making his Eſcape: But the Engliſh Pacquets brought us better News of the Turkiſh Army's being defeated in *Hungary*, and a great many Thouſands ſlain.

September, 1691.

Guns planted near St. *Thomas*'s Iſland.

The 12*th* moſt of our Guns and Bombs are directed towards the great Church in the midſt of the Engliſh Town, becauſe we underſtood that it was made their principal Store; and four Deſerters tell us what great Damage was already done in all Places of the Town.

The Cannon and Bombs fire at the Cathedral.

But

September, 1691. But the Iriſh continuing obſtinate, and the indeavouring to reduce the Town by Force with ſuch a little Army as we had ſeeming dangerous, conſidering the very great Strength of their Works which were ſtill intire, though the Town was much ſhattered; thoſe and other Reaſons were like to render it a Work of longer time than at firſt we hoped for, and the Winter now drawing on apace; therefore Orders were given to fit up *Killmallock* for a Place of Stores. And,

Col. *Earl* ſent into *England*. On the 13*th* the General ſent Colonel *Earl* into *England*, to acquaint her Majeſty with the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs; that if we ſhould not take the Town this Seaſon, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to ſend more Frigats, in order to block up the River *Shannon*, ſince Capt. *Cole* that commanded, and other Marine Officers then in the River, had given it under their Hands, that they could poſt twenty Frigats ſo advantageouſly towards the Mouth of the River, under ſome Iſlands, that they ſhould be able to live all Winter, and keep off twice the Number, if any Attempt ſhould be made by the French towards the Relief of the Town; and that in the mean time the Army was to make as nigh a Blockade as they could. This was but melancholy News to both Officers and Souldiers, who were all willing to undergo any Hardſhips rather than go away without being Maſters of the Place.

The 14*th* ſome Dragoons with an Officer deſert the Enemy; a Sergeant of theirs gave us notice where their Ammunition lay, and our Guns fire very hard all Day at the Place, the General and all the great Officers continuing the whole Afternoon at the Battery, and were very well pleaſed to ſee a Bomb blow up ſome part of their Powder. At Night our Works were double mann'd, and our great Guns beginning to the right, the whole

whole Line made three running Fires, which were ſeconded by as many from ſeveral Regiments both of Horſe and Foot, drawn up at the Heads of their reſpective Camps: this was for Joy of the Chriſtians Succeſs in *Hungary* againſt the Turks; but it alarm'd the Iriſh, who ſtood at their Arms all the Night, being much puzzled to know the meaning of it; ſome ſaying that our Fleet had beat the French; and others, that it was only for a Blind at our going off; and every one as they fancied. Orders were now given for the demoliſhing *Caſtle-connel*, *Carick a Gunnell*, and other Places upon the *Shannon*; and ſeveral Miners were at work upon them. *September*, 1691. Guns fired for Joy the Turks were defeated in *Hungary*.

The fifteenth, the *Finnan* Regiment of *Green Danes* march towards *Clonmell*, in order to go to *Waterford*; and moſt of our Guns were drawn off from the Batteries as a Blind, to a Deſign at Night; being a great many Men at work all day to prepare our Tin-boats and Floats. That Afternoon my Lord *Liſburn* then upon Duty with his Regiment, to the Left of the Great Battery, his Lordſhip having laid down to reſt him in a little Trench-Tent, juſt in the riſing up was unfortunately ſhot by a great Gun from one of the Enemies Batteries; being a Man of excellent Parts, and who had ſhewed himſelf very diligent and forward upon all Occaſions, ſince the beginning of this War. My Lord *Liſburn* killed.

In the Evening it was ordered that four hundred Gra nadeers, ſo ſoon as 'twas dark, ſhould parade at the Head of Major General *Kirk*'s Regiment, from whence they marched about nine at Night, being joined with ſix hundred Workmen, with the Tin-boats, and ſuſtained with five Regiments of Foot commanded by Major General *Talmaſh*, and a Body of Horſe and Dragoons under Major General *Scravemore*, with ſix Field-pieces. Thoſe all march to a Place of the *Shannon* about two Miles above A Party ordered to march over the River.

our

September, 1691. our Camp, and by twelve at Night begin to lay the Boats over. In the mean time the Granadeers commanded by Sir *David Collier*, with Capt. *Ketchmay* of Sir *John Hanmer*'s, Captain *Alnut* of my Lord *Drogheda*'s, Captain *Parker* of Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton*'s Regiment, another Captain, and eight more Officers, were wafted over by the Tin-boats into an Island where the Bridg was laying, and from whence it was fordable to the other side, beating some few Straglers of the Enemy from thence, who now and then fired at the Workmen, but with little or no Loss to us; for the Night being very dark, and the Enemy secure, because they judged us going off, the Bridg was almost compleated before they suspected it.

A Bridg laid, and our Men pass over it. The 16*th* at Day-light our Bridg was finished; and Colonel *Matthew*'s Dragoons beginning to pass into the Island: by which time Brigadeer *Clifford* had got the Alarm, who was not far off with four Regiments of Dragoons; he seemed not very forward in the Matter, tho his Dragoons came down on foot, and pretended to make some Opposition, as did also a Body of the Enemies Foot, being about four or five thin Regiments, who advanced towards the Ford, when Major General *Talmash* immediately commanded the Granadeers to wade thrô: which done, they possess'd themselves of an old House, and an Hedg or two, about an hundred Yards from the Enemy; and were commanded not to be lavish of their Shot, but receive the Enemies Fire till our Dragoons and some Horse were got over, which were passing. Then the Enemy endeavouring to flank our Granadeers on the Right, the Major General commanded a Detachment of Colonel *Matthews*'s Dragoons to beat them from that Post: which being done, and a good Party soon got over, Major General *Talmash* ordered the Granadeers

nadeers to advance, being ſuſtained by a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *Tiffin* and Lieutenant Colonel *Briſtow*, a Party of Dragoons, and a Party of Colonel *Coyt*'s Horſe. This was done; and after ſome faint Reſiſtance the Enemy run towards a large Bog, and a Wood that was in their Rear, throwing away their Granadoes, Muskets, and every thing that proved troubleſom: our Men purſued them, and killed ſeveral upon the Bog, taking a French Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain and ſome more Priſoners. Our advance-Party received Orders to halt till all were got over, and then march'd to the Left up towards the Enemies Camp. But by this time the News of our paſſing the River was got to their Horſe, and alſo towards the Town, both Parties providing for their Safeties as well as they could: for the People that were encamp'd without, endeavoured to get into Town; but thoſe within drew up the Bridg, and would not admit them; and it's almoſt incredible what a Noiſe and Confuſion there was then at *Thoumond* Gate: their Horſe tho begin to buckle to Arms, and made a ſhew of fighting, which was only to gain time to ſecure their Tents and Baggage; and their Dragoons having their Horſes two Miles off at Graſs, were forced to ſhift for themſelves. Our Horſe expected Orders to purſue them; but they were commanded by the General and Lieut. Gen. *Scravemore*, who were now come up, to halt till a greater Body advanced to ſuſtain them. Some of the Iriſh were now pulling down their Tents, others driving away the Cattle, and every one in a Hurry making what haſte they could towards the Mountains; and then the General ordered our Men to advance towards their Horſe-Camp, where they found Brandy, Beef, and a great many other things: And a Party of our Granadeers met with about three hundred

September, 1691.

The Iriſh in a great Conſternation.

September, 1691. Dragoon Saddles and other Accoutrements, which they burnt by Order. We did not purſue however for fear of an Ambuſcade, but ſent to obſerve the Enemies March. The Iriſh alſo nigh the Town were very buſy in breaking down two ſmall Bridges croſs a Cauſey, leading to the Town; but the firing of two of our Field-pieces put a ſtop to their Proceedings in that Place. There is a ſmall white Houſe about half a Mile from the Town on *Thoumond* ſide, nigh which two Squadrons of the Enemies Horſe were drawn up, and about a Regiment of Foot poſted in the Hedges, to ſecure their Lords Juſtices, the Records, all their chief Ladies and Treaſure, which all were there, and had been as then no difficult, though a very good Prize. But after ſome of our Parties had ſeen them go off in the greateſt Confuſion that could be, we ſet two or three Houſes on fire: and ſtaying on that ſide till about two a Clock in the Afternoon, we had Orders to return, leaving a Guard in a Fort newly caſt up on the other ſide, to ſecure our Bridg; whenas it's not improbable, had we purſued our good Fortune, the Iriſh Horſe had been routed, and the Town delivered upon our own Terms.

The Iriſh had ſtill a ſmall Gariſon in S. *Thomas*'s Iſland, which now ſubmitted, where we got two pretty ſmall Braſs Field-pieces. There was alſo an Enſign with twenty Men in a Caſtle, in the midſt of the River, a little below the Iſland, who were made Priſoners: This is called the *Wier* Caſtle, becauſe it ſtands on a *Salmon Wier*. In the former Wars the Iriſh had a Gariſon here alſo, who deſerting the Place, betook themſelves to the River: but being ſhot at, part of them came on ſhoar towards the Weſt, who had Quarter promiſed them by a Captain in Colonel *Tuthill*'s Regiment, and yet were ſtripp'd and killed by the Colonel's Orders, who was tried

The Caſtle on the *Wier* taken.

tried and caſhiered for it; but the reſt coming a-ſhore on the Eaſt, where Colonel *Inglesby* was, had better Treatment, and ſent to the Town, *Ireton* being very angry at the others Breach of Faith. *September*, 1691.

We had only one Serjeant killed in all this Day's Adventure, and about twenty Men wounded, and the Enemy loſt not above fifteen or twenty at moſt. One Capt. *Taaf* in the Iriſh Royal Regiment deſerts, and ſays the Beſieged had not above ten Days Bread, and that our Bombs had deſtroyed a great part of their Ammunition. And that nothing might be left unattempted, to ſhew their Majeſties Clemency, the Government's Lenity, and the General's generous Compaſſion towards the Iriſh, he orders the following Declaration to be ſent them.

By Lieutenant General Ginckell, *Commander in Chief of their Majeſties Forces.*

" ALthough their Majeſties have already been more
" gracious than could be expected, or the Be-
" haviour of the Iriſh has deſerved, yet to leave no
" means untried that may bring them to a Senſe of their
" Intereſt and Duty, and this Kingdom to that quiet
" and ſettled Condition it formerly enjoyed, they have
" been pleaſed to impower me to aſſure the Enemies
" Army, and the Gariſon and Inhabitants of *Limerick*,
" that if within eight Days from the Date hereof, they
" ſhall ſurrender and ſubmit themſelves to their Ma-
" jeſties Obedience, they ſhall have that Pardon of their
" Offences, Reſtitution of their Eſtates, and Reward
" of their Services, and all the Benefits promiſed by the
" Lords Juſtices in their Proclamation of the 7*th* of

September, 1691. "*July* laſt, from which they are not debarred by any "Act of Parliament, as they are falſly made to believe "by ſome Perſons who live by ſacrificing their Coun- "try to the Tyranny and Ambition of *France*, and "ought for that reaſon to be excluded from Mercy by "both Sides: But if they ſhall ſtill continue obſtinate, "and neglect to lay hold on this Favour, which is the "laſt that will be offered them, they muſt be anſwerable "for the Blood and Deſtruction they draw upon them- "ſelves; for I hereby acquit my ſelf before God and the "World, and waſh my Hands of it. Given at the "Camp before *Limerick* this 16*th* Day of *Septem-* "*ber*, 1691.

Diſputed whether the Siege continued, or a Blockade.

On the 17*th* a Council of War was held, wherein it was hotly diſputed, whether we ſhould go on with the Siege, or march over the River and deſtroy all the Enemies Forage in the County of *Clare*, and then make a Blockade; and it was ſo far carried for the latter, that an Engineer was ordered to go with a Guard towards *Kill-mallock*, and fortify that Place: but before he got out of the Camp he was countermanded, and a great many Palliſado's were brought up to *Mackay*'s Fort, as if we intended to winter there: three hundred Cars with Bullets, Bombs, and other Neceſſaries come to the Camp from *Dublin*, and our Guns play ſtill from the great Battery. Eleven of the Enemies Troopers deſert, and a Standard was brought in that was taken the Day before; and my Lord *Lisburn*'s Corps were ſent hence towards *Dublin*, there to be interred. Our Bridg of Boats was this Evening removed towards St. *Thomas*'s Iſland, but being too ſhort, it was carried to another Place, where it had alſo the ſame Inconveniency.

The

The 18*th*, Orders were ſent to the Men of War and other Veſſels in the River, to ſet ſome Men on Shoar in the County of *Clare*, to deſtroy all the Forage they could meet with, ſince this was the time of Harveſt; and if we muſt needs remove, the General was reſolved to make the Iriſh Quarters as bare as poſſible; and ſeveral of our heavy Cannon were put on Ship-board. *September*, 1691.

The 19*th* it being reſolved to paſs the River with a Party, either to proſecute the Seige, or at leaſt to burn the Forage; a Battery was raiſed between *Ireton*'s Fort and the old Church, to flank the Iriſh in Caſe of a Sally from St. *John*'s Gate, it being reaſonable to expect one when part of our Army once paſs'd the River: and now our People were very buſy in lengthning our Bridg, which they found ſome Difficulty in fixing, becauſe the the Rains had ſwelled the River, and we had not Boats enough to reach over; but that Defect was ſupplied by ſome large Carts and Barrels that were induſtriouſly fixed next the Sides, and ſo the Work was compleated, a Guard being always on the other Side for its Security; and my Lord *Lisburn*'s and Colonel *Creighton*'s Foot were encamp'd by it on our ſide. This Afternoon four Mortars were brought from the great Battery to *Mackay*'s Fort, that Place being judged the fitteſt for bombarding, ſince the whole Town lay in a Line from thence. Three Rapparees were alſo brought in by the Militia, and accuſed for murdering ſeveral of our Men as they ſtraggled from the Camp to dig Potatoes; one of them produced a Paſs, as being of my Lord *Gallmoy*'s Regiment of Horſe: but this was an uſual ſhift, for in a Day or two there being evident Proof againſt them, they were condemned by a Court-Martial; the General gave Orders that they ſhould be broke upon the Wheel; but being told that this way of Torture was againſt the Laws of *Eng-*

September, 1691. *England*, they were firſt hanged, and then their Quarters diſperſed and hung upon the Hedges, on the adjacent High-ways to the Camp. That Evening the General was informed that the Enemy reſolved to make a Sally, and therefore moſt of our Horſe and Dragoons were ordered to remain ſadled all Night: And in caſe of an Alarm, the Commander in chief where it ſhould be given, was immediately to acquaint the General with it; upon which three Guns were to be fired from the Artillery, to warn the Regiments: thoſe on the left were to defend the left Trench, *Kirk*'s, *Earl*'s, and *Hales*'s were to defend from the Place my Lord *Lisburn* was killed to the great Battery; the other five Regiments of that Brigade were to defend from *Mackay*'s Fort to the Well; and thoſe Regiments of the Prince of *Heſſe*, and *La Melloner*'s Brigades were to draw up at the Head of their reſpective Camps, and there remain till further Orders: ſo that our Army being diſpoſed of on this manner, the Iriſh would have met with a very ſcurvy Welcome, if they had come at any time to viſit us, but they conſidered better of it, and ſo ſtaid at home.

Orders in caſe of an Alarm.

Some of our Guns ſhipp'd.

The 20*th* moſt of the reſt of our heavy Canon were drawn off, and ſent on Shipboard: Several Deſerters come in, and ſome of our Priſoners make their Eſcape through a Hole in the Goal, which our Cannon had made, and inform the General of the State of the Town, that it was not ſo very bad as ſome People made it, for unleſs we kept them in alſo on the other Side, we could not hope to carry it, which Story had been very often told.

On the 21*ſt* the General received an Expreſs with an Account of *Sligoe*'s being ſurrendred to the Earl of *Granard*; and it being fully agreed to paſs the River next Day, and a probable Conſequence of that being that the

the Iriſh muſt needs then or never endeavour to attempt the forcing of our Works on this ſide, when they ſaw our Army divide; therefore it was ordered, that in caſe of an Alarm, there ſhould be a Signal given, which was by the lighting of a Torch upon a Pike at *Mackay*'s Fort; the Charge of which was committed to the Officer of the Quarter-Guard, and he ordered to be very vigilant; the Regiments being diſpoſed of for Defence as before. The Quartermaſters were alſo ordered to be be at Major General *Tetteau*'s by break of Day. And therefore, *September*, 1691.

September the 22*d*, the General himſelf, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, Lieutenant General *Scravemore*, with all our Horſe and Dragoons commanded by Major General *Ruvigny*, (except Colonel *Coys*'s Horſe, and fifty out of each Regiment of Dragoons) with ten Regiments of Foot, (and fourteen Guns, *viz.* ten 3 Pounders, and four 12 Pounders) taking alſo ſeven Days Proviſion along, march'd over our Bridg of Boats into the County of *Clare*, leaving Major General *Mackay* and Major General *Talmaſh* to command on this ſide. All that Morning as our Horſe and Foot march'd by this ſide of the Town, the Enemy fired continually upon us from ſeveral Batteries, but did us no great Injury. At twelve a Clock all our Men had paſſed the River; and about two, eighteen of Colonel *Matthews*'s Dragoons, being our advance-Party, were attack'd by a Party of the Enemy, who outnumbred ours, and obliged us to retreat, till ſuſtained by a greater Party, as was alſo the Enemy: and ſome ſmall Firings continued till about four, that our Foot came up, we advancing ſtill, and the Enemy retiring till they were got under their Cannon. Then all the Granadeers of our Party, commanded by Colonel *Tiffin*, Lieutenant Colonel *Hudſon*, and Major *Noble*, ſuſtained by

Our Men paſs the River a ſecond time.

September, 1691. by *Kirk*'s, *Tiffin*'s, *St. John*'s, and my Lord *George Hamilton*'s Regiments, were commanded to advance and attack the Works that cover *Thoumond* Bridg, being one Fort to the Right above Musket-shot from the Bridg, another on the Left somewhat nearer; besides several natural Fortifications of Stone-quarries and Gravel-pits, in all which the Enemy had posted a Detachment out of eighteen Regiments, of about eight hundred Men. The Dispute was pretty hot at first: and their Cannon playing from the King's Castle, and two or three more Batteries, as also their small Shot from the Walls, the Attack seemed very hazardous, and our Men ordered not to approach so nigh the Town as they afterwards did. However, the Irish being now pressed upon by our Granadeers, they quitted their first Posts, and then were reinforced by another Detachment from the Town: but all this could not do their business, for our Granadeers were so very forward, and despised all Dangers to that degree, that they put the whole Body to flight in despight of their Forts, Cannon, and all other Advantages, and pursued them so close, that a French Major who commanded at *Thoumond* Gate, fearing our Mens entring the Town with their own, he ordered the Draw-bridg to be pluck'd up, and left the whole Party to the Mercy of our Souldiers; those that were behind, pressing the others forward, and throwing them down over the Fall of the Draw-bridg: then the rest cried out for Quarter, holding up their Handkerchiefs, and what else they could get: but before killing was over, they were laid on Heaps upon the Bridg higher than the Ledges of it; so that they were all either killed or taken, except about a hundred and twenty that got into Town before the Bridg was drawn up, and many of those cut and slash'd to the purpose. The number of the Dead is said to be six

The Attack at *Thoumond* Gate.

600 of the Enemy killed.

ſix hundred, amongſt whom we may reckon one hundred fifty four that were drowned in being forced over the Fall of the Draw-bridg, and reckoned afterwards caſt up upon the Shore. The Priſoners were Colonel *James Skelton*, (who died afterwards of his Wounds) Lieutenant Colonel *Edmond Harley*, Lieutenant Colonel *Francis Dempſey*, Major *Matthew French*, *John Nelvil* Aid-Major of *Limerick*, beſides nine Captains, ſeven Lieutenants, ſix Serjeants, and ninety ſeven private Men; all whoſe Names I have, but they are not worth the while of writing down, or reading afterwards. We took alſo five Colours; and, as ſome ſay, three ſmall braſs Guns that were with a Party of their Horſe. And we loſt in this Action Lieutenant *Starlin*, with twenty five private Men, and had about threeſcore wounded. *September.* 1691.

One thing here remarkable is, that Colonel *Skelton*'s Pockets being ſearch'd when he was taken Priſoner, the following Paper was found amongſt other things: The Paper it ſelf I have, and will not be anſwerable either for the Orthography or Senſe; however take an exact Copy of it. And firſt, ſomething like the faſhion of a Spear's Head, or a Wound as he calls it, being ſlovenly drawn upon Paper, the following Words were writ about it. A remarkable Paper.

THis *is the Meaſure of the Wounds of the Side of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, wich was brought from* Conſtantinoble *to the Emperor* Charmaine *in a Coffin of Gould, and is a moſt precious Relique, to the end that he or ſhe that carried the ſame about him, no Fire nor Water, no Wind, Tempeſt, Knaiſe, Launce or Sword, nor the Divil cannot hurt him; and the Woman with Child the day ſhe ſeeth the ſame Meaſure, ſhall not dey a ſudden Death, but ſhall*

September, 1691. *be delivered by——— and if any Man carre the ſame about him with good Devotion, ſhall have the Honor and Victorey of his Enimy. The day that any doth read the ſam, or heard it read, ſhall not dey an evil Death.* Amen.

Animis ſcriptoris in manu Saluatoris.

I have more Charity for any in Colonel *Skelton*'s Poſt, than to believe that he could write this Paper himſelf; for whoever did, underſtood neither Engliſh nor Latin, nor yet Common Senſe. I therefore believe it the Hand-writing of ſome poor ignorant Iriſh Prieſt, and kept by Colonel *Skelton* either out of Ridicule, or poſſibly out of ſome Religious Deſign; ſince I have heard that they had a great many of thoſe Papers printed and kept amongſt them with a great deal of Devotion: and if we'll look amongſt them, we may find a great many Inſtances of the like nature, and altogether as great Abſurdities; for Colonel *Skelton* was no Iriſhman, nor could he well be fond of the Fopperies of that Nation. In the former Wars we have ſeveral Relations of ſuch like Religious Papers found upon the Iriſh, with a great many Charms, and other ſuch like Stuff; particularly at the Battel of *Knocknaclaſhy*, the laſt of that Rebellion, and parallel to this in ſeveral Circumſtances: for amongſt other Charms taken at that time, this one is remarkable, *viz. This is the Print of our Lady's Foot; and whoever wears it, and ſays twenty* Ave Maries, *ſhall be free from Gunſhot.* Cox, *p.* 68.

But this Digreſſion I'm afraid is ſcarce pardonable; and therefore when our Men had lodged themſelves within ten Yards of the Bridg, (notwithſtanding an high Tower that ſtood near that End of the Bridg next to them) the

the Iriſh being then cut off from all Communication with their Horſe, and deſpairing of Succours from *France*, they began ſoon to think upon giving up the Town: but it muſt needs be thought very unaccountable, that when they ſaw our Forces divide, and part of them indeavouring to approach the Town on their Side, they ſhould not then have brought all their Army together, and given us Battel, rather than ſuffer the Town to be ſurrounded: nor could they have been ſo pinn'd up in the Town by us, if they really had been beat, but that their Horſe and Dragoons might have fought their way out again at ſome time when we had not been at our Arms; for there was no Forage left nigh the Town, and our Horſe could no more ſtay long near it, than theirs within it. But it's probable e're this time that they were grown jealous of one another, and a great many of them weary of the War it ſelf; and it's as probable that if their Horſe and Dragoons, after a brisk Trial of Skill, had been forced towards the Town, they had been ſerved the ſame ſauce by the French Major as their Foot were; and therefore they were wiſer, and kept at a good Diſtance, beyond *Six-mile-Bridg*, and nigh *Ennis*, towards whom the General ſent a Party of our Horſe. *September*, 1691.

Next Day, being Wedneſday the 23*d*, one hundred Cattle taken from the Enemy the Day before, and ſix hundred more ſent out of the County of *Kerry* by Brigadeer *Leveſon*, were divided amongſt the Army. And though the Day proved very rainy, yet our Guns and ſome Mortars ceaſed not to play upon the Town, nor the Enemy to fire more furiouſly than they had done for ſome time before. One Lieutenant Colonel *Corbet* came off from the Enemy, and propoſed to the General the bringing over my Lord *Tyrconnel*'s and *Galmoy*'s Regiments of Horſe, and out of thoſe two to make one good

September, 1691. Regiment to ſerve their Majeſties in *Flanders*, provided he might have the Command of them. Towards Night the Rain begun to ceaſe, and both Storms were ended together, for about ſix a Clock the Enemy beat a Parly on both Sides the Town; one Colonel *Ruth* coming towards *Mackay*'s Fort, where the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment then were upon Duty: But Major General *Talmaſh* ſhortly after coming that way, and being acquainted with it, he referred the Matter to Lieutenant General *Scravemore*, and the Marqueſs *Ruvigny*. The General being then beyond the River, Major General *Waughup*, or Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* went out to him, and a Ceſſation was concluded for that Night.

The Enemy beat a Parly.

A Ceſſation agreed to.

The 24*th* in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Sarſfield* and Major General *Waughup* came out to the General, and deſired it might be continued for three Days longer, till they could ſend to their Horſe, who then were encamp'd towards *Clare*, in order to their being included in the general Capitulation which they then propoſed, and the Requeſt was granted. The Enemy had now in Town two hundred forty and odd Priſoners of our Army and Militia, that had been taken in the County of *Cork*, and other Places, who remained there all the Siege, and were pretty well look'd after whilſt the Proteſtants had leave to ſtay, who were inexpreſſibly kind to them; but no ſooner were they turn'd out of Town, but the poor Priſoners were in a miſerable Condition, being expoſed to the Fury of our own Guns and Mortars, and about thirty of them killed during the Siege. This Afternoon thoſe alive were brought out to us, and delivered between *Mackay*'s Fort and the Town, many of them in a miſerable Condition; thoſe of them that were not able to walk, were brought out upon poor lean Garrons; and ſome died upon the Spot where

where they were ſet down, being weak, and unacquainted with the open Air: Nay ſo barbarous had the Iriſh been in this Particular, that they had not ſo much as ordered the Wounds of ſome of our Men to be dreſſed that they had got in Priſon by our own Guns; but after ſeveral Days keeping them in that Miſery, they brought them out, and made us all Witneſſes of their Barbarity: I give one Inſtance of a Dragoon in Colonel *Matthews*'s Regiment, who had his Hand ſhattered to Pieces, and being never dreſs'd, he died within an Hour after his bringing out. The ſame Day we had an Account that *Galloping Hogan*, a Fellow that had got upwards of one hundred Rapparees together, Horſe and Foot, and got much Plunder by robbing the Sutlers and other People, that came into his Power; he was now ſo bold as to ſet upon a Party of Carrs coming towards the Camp with little or no Guard, nigh *Cullen*, and took away with him ſeventy one ſmall Horſes, though he durſt not ſtay to do any further Miſchief. *September*, 1691.

The 25*th* Lieutenant General *Sheldon*, the Lords *Galmoy*, *Weſtmeath*, *Dillon* and *Trimbleſtowne*, *Mack Guire* the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, and ſeveral more of the Iriſh Officers, came from their Horſe Camp; and dining with the General, they went afterwards into Town in a Boat rowed by French Seamen, (there being then three Veſſels drawn up within the Key, and one of them ſunk a-croſs it, to prevent our coming up the River in the Night by way of Surprize;) as they rid by the End of the Bridg towards the Boat, a Party of their own Men were burying the Dead killed in the laſt Action; they ſtopp'd and enquired for ſeveral People, whom they there found dead: and the Ceſſation was continued till next Day at ten a Clock. Their great Officers come from the Horſe Camp to conſult with the reſt in Town.

The

September, 1691. Hostages exchanged.

The 26*th*, *Sarsfield* and *Waughup* dined with the General, and it was agreed that Hostages should be exchanged in order to a further Treaty. Accordingly in the Afternoon, my Lord *Cutts*, Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Tiffin*, and Colonel *Piper*, were sent into the Town, for whom were sent out the Lords *Westmeath*, *Iveagh*, *Trimblestowne* and *Louth*.

The 27*th* the Irish sent out their Proposals, which were;

The Irish Proposals.

" 1*st*. That their Majesties will by an Act of Indemni-
" ty pardon all past Crimes and Offences whatsoever.

" 2*dly*. To restore all Irish Catholicks to the Estates,
" of which they were seized or possessed before the late
" Revolution.

" 3*dly*. To allow a free Liberty of Worship, and one
" Priest to each Parish, as well in Towns and Cities, as
" in the Country.

" 4*thly*. Irish Catholicks to be capable of bearing
" Imployments, Military and Civil, and to exercise
" Professions, Trades, Callings, of what Nature so-
" ever.

" 5*thly*. The Irish Army to be kept on Foot, paid, *&c.*
" as the rest of their Majesties Forces, in case they be
" willing to serve their Majesties against *France*, or any
" other Enemy.

" 6*thly*. The Irish Catholicks to be allowed to live
" in Towns Corporate and Cities, to be Members of
" Corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of
" Trades, and to be equal with their Fellow-Protestant
" Subjects in all Privileges, Advantages and Immunities
" accruing in or by the said Corporations.

" 7*thly*. An Act of Parliament to be past for ratifying
" and confirming the said Conditions.

These

September, 1691.

Theſe Propoſitions were very unreaſonable, and they ſay mightily inſiſted upon by *Mack Guire* and others of the Prieſthood: this Man I'm told was Chaplain to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *Rome*, when *Plunket* the Titular Primate was hanged about the Popiſh Plot in *Ireland*; and few People daring to aſſume that Title at ſuch a Juncture, the Ambaſſador procured it from the Pope for him. When thoſe Propoſals were brought out to the General, he was ſo far from granting them, that he returned Anſwer, *Though he was in a manner a Stranger to the Laws of* England, *yet he underſtood that thoſe things they inſiſted upon were ſo far contradictory to them, and diſhonourable to himſelf, that he would not grant any ſuch Terms*; and ſo returned them, ordering a new Battery to be immediately raiſed to the left of *Mackay*'s Fort, for Mortars and Guns. Then the Iriſh ſent again to know what Terms his Excellency would pleaſe to propoſe to them, who after a Conſultation, ſent them in twelve Articles, much the ſame in Subſtance with thoſe afterwards agreed upon, and ſaid he would allow of no other: He ſent them however all the Priſoners that we had of theirs in the Camp, in Requital of ours that were releaſed before, their wounded Priſoners having always the ſame Conveniences with our own Men.

Rejected by the General, and new Batteries ordered to be raiſed.

The 28*th* early in the Morning, *Sarsfield*, *Waughup*, the Titular Primate, Baron *Purcell* of *Loughmoe*, Arch-Biſhop of *Caſhell*, Sir *Garret Dillon*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, and Colonel *Brown*, the three laſt Counſellors at Law, with ſeveral other Officers and Commiſſioners, came to the General's Quarters, whither he ſent for all our General Officers; and after a long Debate, Articles were agreed on, not only for the Town of *Limerick*, but for all the other Forts and Caſtles in the King-

Articles agreed upon.

September, 1691. Kingdom, then in the Enemies Poſſeſſion, as *Roſs*, *Clare*, &c.

The ſame Afternoon an Order was ſigned for part of the Tranſport Ships to ſail from *Cork* to the *Shannon*, and there to take on Board ſome of the Iriſh Forces: The following Letter was alſo ſent by the General to Sir *Ralph Delavall*, who he underſtood was upon the Coaſt with a Squadron of Engliſh Men of War.

Camp before *Limerick*, Septemb. 28. 1691.

SIR,

The General's Letter to Sir *Ralph Delaval.*

I *Have notice from my Lord* Nottingham, *that you were to come with the Squadron under your Command into theſe Seas; which makes me ſend this to acquaint you, that I have entred into a Treaty with the City of* Limerick, *and the Iriſh Army, which is now juſt come to a Concluſion. In the mean time we have a Ceſſation of Arms at Land, and have agreed there ſhall be one too at* Sea, *upon the Coaſts of this Kingdom, ſince ſeveral of the Iriſh Army are to be tranſported, and to make uſe of French as well as Engliſh Ships for that Purpoſe: and therefore I muſt deſire you will not hinder the Tranſport Ships of* France *from coming into the* Shannon, *nor the reſt of their Fleet into* Dingle-Bay. *The French Intendant here has written his Part to the Squadron of their Men of War that is expected, and gives Aſſurance that no Hoſtility will be committed by them: and you will pleaſe to obſerve the ſame on your Side,*

Side, which is very neceſſary for their Majeſties Service, and the ſpeedy finiſhing the Affair we have in hand; to which I am ſure you will contribute what you may, as well as, September 1691.

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Bar. de GINCKELL.

The 29*th* all our Horſe and Dragoons commanded by the Marqueſs *Ruvigny* go to encamp beyond *Six-mile-Bridg*, for the Conveniency of Forage, and a friendly Correſpondence begun between the Iriſh and us, ſeveral of our Army going into Town, and others of them coming into our Camp.

The 30*th* moſt of the Iriſh General Officers dined with the Duke of *Wirtembergh*; nothing further being to be done till the Arrival of the Lords Juſtices, who were ſent for to confirm the Articles according to Agreement: And by this time the Iriſh Souldiers and ours were alſo pretty well acquainted, they coming into our Camp, and our Men being admitted to view all their Works, where we will leave them, asking ſtrange Queſtions one at another, and look back a little upon the Actions that hapned in other Parts of the Kingdom during this Month.

A brief Account of what hapned in other Places of the Kingdom this Month.

For whilſt the Army was buſied in the Field againſt the main Strength of the Iriſh, the Government was not wanting to order the Militia in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, to ſuppreſs the skulking Tories, and

September, 1691. other miſchievous Perſons, who laid hold on all Occaſions to do Miſchief.

On the 5*th* of *September* a Party of Rapparees near *Tallough*, rob ſome Carriages belonging to the Officers in the Princeſs *Ann*'s Regiment, and got away into the Woods. The Militia kill three Rapparees near *Caperquin*, and four more nigh *Liſmore*.

The 6*th*, our *Barbadoes* Fleet came into *Kinſale* under Convoy of the Princeſs *Ann*, and the *Briſtol* Frigats; and the ſame Day the St. *Albans* and *Soldadoe* brought 7 French Prizes into *Cork*. The Militia of *Dublin*, and eight hundred more from the North, being joined by *Balderock O Donnel*, with about twelve hundred Iriſh, were at *Abby Boyle* the 9*th* of *September*, on their March to *Sligoe*; and on their way they ſummon'd *Loughlin*, commanded by Colonel *Theobald Dillon*; and another Place commanded by Colonel *Charles Kelly*, both ſtrong Caſtles, and gariſon'd by the Iriſh, which ſurrendred: and then the Earl of *Granard*, Commander in chief, ſent to ſummon *Ballymott*, which refuſing to ſurrender, *Balderock* with a thouſand Men was ordered to attack it. This Place they ſay is very ſtrong, and at that time commanded by one of the *O Connors*, who upon Sight of the Artillery ſurrendred upon Condition, to march with his Party and Baggage towards *Sligoe*.

This done, my Lord *Granard* marches to *Sligoe*, having Advice that Colonel *Mitchelburn*'s Regiment, and ſome of the Militia under Lieutenant Colonel *Caulfield*, had forced old Sir *Teague* and his Crew from ſeveral Outworks and Ditches, and obliged them to retire into the Fort. The Earl of *Granard* and his Party were hard put to it in their March thither over the *Curlew* Mountains; for their Draught-Horſes being none of the beſt, and

and ſeveral of them tiring, the Men themſelves were forced to draw the Cannon, and that for ſeveral Miles, which they performed very chearfully. That Afternoon the Enemy beat a Parley; but we found it was only to gain Time: and therefore in the Evening we began to fire with great and ſmall Shot, and ſo continued moſt part of the Night without any further Loſs on our Side, but of an Enſign who had his Head ſhot off with a great Shot. But the Enemy ſeeing a great many Carriages with my Lord *Granard*'s Party, they were perſwaded that they had brought heavy Cannon, with Mortars, Bombs, Carcaſſes, *&c.* So that they beat another Parley, and after ſome time they conſented to ſurrender the Town upon the Articles that were agreed to on the *6th* of *Auguſt*, *viz.* 'Their Party to march to *Limerick* with 'Arms and Baggage; and that all the little Gariſons there-'abouts in the Hands of the Iriſh, ſhould have the Bene-'fit of the Capitulation. *September*, 1691. *Sligo* ſurrendred to my Ld *Granard*.

The Fort was ſurrendred on the ſixteenth, being made of Turf, and having in it ſix hundred Men and ſixteen Guns; and Colonel *Mitchelburn* was left Governour. In former times the Caſtle of *Sligoe* was a good Fortification, being built by *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* Lord Juſtice, in the Year 1242.

September the *17th*, the *Dublin* Militia return Conquerors home again, having not loſt one Man in their whole March: and thoſe of the North march towards *Ballynewton* and *Caſtle-burk*, to have them ſurrendred according to the Articles of *Sligoe*; many Robberies and Murders being committed in that Countrey, particularly on Dr. *Brooks* an eminent Phyſician, and three more, the Rapparees firſt wounding them in ſeveral Places, and then for ſecurity cutting their Throats.

September, 1691. *September* the 12*th*, the Iriſh take a good Prey near *Tallough*; and the Militia to be even with them, take another Prey, and kill one of my Lord *Merion*'s Troopers, with two Rapparees. Captain *Orfeur* of Colonel *Haſtings*'s Regiment, going out with a Party of the ſaid Regiment, and ſome of the Militia, he killed twenty of the Rapparees near *Liſmore*, which ſo terrified the reſt, that the Countrey thereabouts was pretty quiet for ſome time.

On the 12*th* of *Auguſt John Mackabe*, the notorious Rapparee, who ſo much infeſted the Bog of *Allen*, was brought with four of his Companions, by Lieutenant *Sheilds* and Lieutenant *Courtney*, to *Dublin*; and on the 19*th* they were hanged up in Chains at the *Naas*: This Fellow, and another called the White Serjeant, had been both in the Iriſh Army, but broke there for ſome Rogueries; and after a great deal of Miſchief done to the Countrey, they both got what they deſerved, the one being killed, and the other hanged. About this time one of the Militia was killed, and ſeveral wounded by the Rapparees near *Caperquin*; but in requital the Militia kill five of them.

Towards the latter End of *September*, two Lieutenants of the Iriſh Army having deſerted, and got our General's Paſs to go home, they were met withal by *Hogan* and his Party, and ſtripp'd of what they had; but neither himſelf nor any of his Crew could read the Paſs, elſe it's probable they would have ſent them the way they ſometimes did our Militia, when they fell into their Power. Two Rapparees of one *Higgins*'s Party are taken; and himſelf deſires a Protection. Six more are killed near *Mountmelick*. And on the 26*th* one *Calaghan* a great Rapparee, and ſome of his Party, come in under Protection at *Edenderry*: for now they began to be

be ſenſible how things were like to go on their ſide; and therefore when they were afraid to loſe the Power of doing Miſchief, they came in, and not before. *October*, 1691.

And to conclude the Month, *Hogan* and his Party meeting with ſome of our Militia Dragoons near *Roſcreagh*, murder ſeven of them, and the eighth hardly eſcaped. One *Tiercy* was ſeized and hanged: And one *Purcell*, after the Rope had broke with him, promiſing to make a Diſcovery, was ſaved, and detected four more. And nigh the End of this Month our Packets brought us an account of the Death of Lieutenant General *Dowglaſs* in *Flanders*.

CHAP. IX.

The Lords Juſtices come to the Camp. The Iriſh General Officers come to the General's Tent. Articles ſigned. The Articles at large, both Military and Civil, with their Majeſties Confirmation to both. We take poſſeſſion of the Iriſh Town. A Lieutenant Colonel impriſoned for denying to go to France. *A Declaration from the General. My Lord* Lucan *perſwades the Iriſh to go into* France. *Their Foot drawn out, and put to the trial. The Lords Juſtices return towards* Dublin. *Our Army decamps from* Limerick: *Some of the Iriſh march out.*

October the firſt, upon a Complaint from Lieut. Gen. *Sarsfield*, that ſome of our Men begun to plunder and ſtrip theirs as they found Opportunities, the General gave Orders that the Souldiers ſhould not go beyond our own Works. And now the Iriſh begin to make Hutts in the *King's Iſland*, and draw ſeveral Regiments out of the Town thither, keeping all their Gates faſt-lock'd, leſt their

October, 1691. their Men ſhould run away from them upon the news of going for *France*: for how fond ſoever they might be of K. *James*'s Service, yet few of the common People have any ſtomach for travelling. That Evening about nine a Clock, the Lords Juſtices came to the Camp; which being ſignified to the Iriſh Officers, on the 2*d* about 3 a Clock in the Afternoon, came *Sarsfield*, *Waughup*, and all the other Great Men of the Iriſh Nation, Civil, Military, and ſome Eccleſiaſtical, (only 'twas obſervable that the French Lieutenant Generals kept in Town, and pretended Indiſpoſition, tho they ſigned the Articles; and yet the Matter was not great as to us whether they had or not, tho it was material to the Iriſh, as bringing them under the ſame Circumſtances with themſelves.) But tho things were in a manner adjuſted before, yet there aroſe new Debates about the Rapparees, and other things, that laſted till 12 a Clock at Night: Then the Articles were ordered to be engroſſed, and the Iriſh return into Town. My Lord *Merion* and my Lord *Brittas* were alſo now come from *Kerry*, and their Party included in the Articles.

The Lords Juſtices come to the Camp.

The Iriſh Great Officers come to the General's Tent.

The 3*d* moſt of the Iriſh Officers came again; and dining with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, they went all afterwards to the General's Tent, where the following Articles were interchangeably ſigned: The former about the Surrender of the Town, ſigned by the Generals; and the latter about the Privileges granted to the Iriſh, ſigned by the General and Lords Juſtices jointly, being afterwards ratified by their Majeſties Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, in Form following.

Articles ſigned.

The

The Civil Articles of *Limerick*.

October, 1691.

Gulielmus & Maria, Dei gratia Anglia, Scotia, Francia & Hibernia, Rex & Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentes litera nostræ pervenirint, salutem: Inspeximus Irritulament. quorund. literarum patentium de Confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicessimo quarto die Februarii ultimi prateriti in Cancellar. nostr. Irrotulat. ac ibidem de Record. remanen. in hæc verba.

'*William* and *Mary* by the Grace of God, *&c.* To all 'to whom these Presents shall come, greeting: Whereas 'certain Articles bearing Date the third Day of *Octo-* 'ber last past, made and agreed upon between our 'Justices of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and our General 'of our Forces there on the one Part; and several Offi- 'cers there, commanding within the City of *Limerick*, 'in our said Kingdom, on the other Part: Whereby our 'said Justices and General did undertake that we should 'ratify those Articles within the space of eight Months, 'or sooner; and use their utmost Indeavours that the 'same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. 'The Tenor of which said Articles is as follows, *viz.*

Articles *agreed upon between Lieutenant General* Ginckell, *Commander in Chief of the English Army, on one Side; and the Lieut. Generals,* D'usson *and* De Tesse, *Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other Side, and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.*

1. THAT all Persons without any Exception, of what Quality or Condition soever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, shall have free Li-

October, 1691. Liberty to go to any Country beyond the Seas, (*England* and *Scotland* excepted) where they think fit, with their Families, Houſhold-ſtuff, Plate and Jewels.

2. That all General Officers, Colonels, and generally all other Officers of Horſe, Dragoons, and Foot-Guards; Troopers, Dragoons, Souldiers of all kinds, that are in any Gariſon, Place or Port, now in the Hands of the Iriſh, or encamp'd in the Counties of *Cork*, *Clare* and *Kerry*; as alſo thoſe called *Rapparees* or Volunteers, that are willing to go beyond the Seas, as aforeſaid, ſhall have free leave to embarque themſelves where-ever the Ships are that are appointed to tranſport them, and to come in whole Bodies, as they are now compoſed, or in Parties, Companies, or otherwiſe, without having any Impediment, directly or indirectly.

3. That all Perſons above-mentioned, which are willing to leave *Ireland*, and go into *France*, ſhall have leave to declare at the Times and Places hereafter mentioned, *viz.* the Troops in *Limerick*, on Tueſday next at *Limerick*; the Horſe at their Camp on Wedneſday; and the other Forces that are diſperſed in the Counties of *Clare*, *Kerry* and *Cork*, on the 8*th* Inſtant, and on none other, before Monſieur *Tameron*, the French Intendant, and Colonel *Withers*: and after ſuch Declaration is made, the Troops that will go to *France*, muſt remain under the Command and Diſcipline of their Officers that are to conduct them thither; and Deſerters on each Side ſhall be given up and puniſhed accordingly.

4. That

4. That all *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Officers, that ſerve now in *Ireland*, ſhall be included in this Capitulation, as well for the ſecurity of their Eſtates and Goods in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* (if they are willing to remain here) as for paſſing freely into *France*, or any other Country to ſerve. *October*, 1691.

5. That all the Generals, *French* Officers, the Intendant, the Engeneers, the Commiſſaries of War, and of the Artillery; the Treaſurer, and other *French* Officers, Strangers, and all others whatſoever that are in *Lymerick*, *Sligo*, *Roſs*, *Clare*, or in the Army, or that do Trade or Commerce, or are otherways imployed in any kind of Station or Condition, ſhall have free leave to paſs into *France* or any other Country, and ſhall have leave to Ship themſelves with all their Horſes, Equipage, Plate, Papers, and all their Effects whatever; and that General *Ginckel* will order Paſſports for them, Convoys and Carriages, by Land and by Water, to carry them ſafe from *Lymerick* to the Ships where they ſhall be Embarqued, without paying any thing for the ſaid Carriages, or to thoſe that are imployed therein with their Horſes, Carts, Boats and Shallops.

6. That if any of the aforeſaid Equipages, Merchandize, Horſes, Money, Plate or other Moveables, or Houſhold Stuff belonging to the ſaid *Iriſh* Troops, or to the *French* Officers, or other particular Perſons whatſoever, be Robbed, deſtroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the ſaid General, the ſaid General will order it to be reſtored or payment made according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the Perſons ſo robbed: or plundred, and the ſaid *Iriſh* Troops to be Tranſported, as aboveſaid; and all Perſons belonging to them are to obſerve good Orders in their March and Quarters, and ſhall reſtore whatever they ſhall take from the Country, or make reſtitution for the ſame.

October, 1691.

7. That to Facilitate the Tranſporting the ſaid Troops, the General will Furniſh fifty Ships, each Ship Burthen two hundred Tuns, for which the Perſons to be Tranſported ſhall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there ſhall be occaſion, without their paying for them; and if any of the ſaid Ships ſhall be leſſer Burthen, he will furniſh more in Number to countervail, and alſo give two Men of War to Embarque the Principal Officers, and ſerve for a Convoy to the Veſſels of Burthen.

8. That a Commiſſary ſhall be ſent forthwith to *Cork* to Viſit the Tranſport Ships, and ſee what Condition they are in for Sailing, and that, aſſoon as they are ready, the Troops to be Tranſported ſhall March with all convenient Speed the neareſt way, in order to Embarque there: and if there ſhall be any more Men to be Tranſported than can be carryed off in the ſaid fifty Ships, the reſt ſhall quit the *Engliſh* Town of *Lymerick*, and March to ſuch Quarters as ſhall be appointed for them Convenient for their Tranſportation, where they ſhall remain till the other twenty Ships are ready, which they are to be in a Month, and may Embarque on any *French* Ships that may come in the mean while.

9. That the ſaid Ships ſhall be furniſhed with Forage for Horſe, and all neceſſary Proviſions, to ſubſiſt the Officers, Troopers, Dragoons, and Souldiers, and all other Perſons, that are ſhipt to be Tranſported into *France*; which Proviſion ſhall be paid for aſſoon as all are diſembarqued at *Breſt* or *Nantz*, upon the Coaſt of *Brettany*, or any other part of *France* they can make.

10. And to ſecure the return of the ſaid Ships (the danger of the Seas excepted) and the payment for the ſaid Proviſions, ſufficient Hoſtages ſhall be given.

11. That

11. That the Garriſon of *Clare-Caſtle*, *Roſs*, and all other Foot that are in Garriſon in the Counties of *Clare*, *Cork*, and *Kerry*, ſhall have the advantage of this preſent Capitulation; and ſuch part of thoſe Garriſons as deſign to go beyond Sea, ſhall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, Colours flying, with all Proviſions, and half the Ammunition that is in the ſaid Garriſons, and join the Horſe that marches to be tranſported; or if then there is not Shipping enough for the Body of Foot, that is to be next tranſported after the Horſe, General *Ginckel* will order that they be furniſhed with Carriages for that purpoſe; and what Proviſions they ſhall want in their March, they paying for the ſaid Proviſion, or elſe that they may take it out of their own Magazines. *October*, 1691.

12. That all the Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, that are in the Counties of *Cork*, *Kerry*, and *Clare*, ſhall alſo have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and that ſuch as will paſs into *France*, ſhall have Quarters given them in the Counties of *Clare* and *Kerry* apart from the Troops that are commanded by General *Ginckel*, until they be ſhipp'd; and within their Quarters they ſhall pay for every thing, except Forrage and Paſture for their Horſes, which ſhall be furniſhed *Gratis*.

13. Thoſe of the Garriſon of *Sligo* that are to join the *Iriſh* Army, ſhall have the Benefit of this Capitulation, and Orders ſhall be ſent unto them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to *Lymerick* the ſhorteſt way.

October, 1691.

14. The *Iriſh* may have liberty to tranſport nine hundred Horſes, including Horſes for the Officers, which ſhall be tranſported *Gratis*; and as for the Troopers that ſtay behind, they ſhall diſpoſe of themſelves, as they ſhall think fit, giving up their Arms and Horſes to ſuch Perſons as the General ſhall appoint.

15. It ſhall be permitted for thoſe that are appointed to take care for the Subſiſtence of the Horſe that are willing to go into *France*, to buy Hay and Corn at the King's rates, where-ever they can find it in the Quarters that are aſſigned for them, without any lett or moleſtation; and to carry all neceſſary Proviſion out of the City of *Lymerick*; and, for this purpoſe, the General will furniſh convenient Carriages for them to the Place, where they ſhall be embarked.

16. It ſhall be further lawful to make uſe of the Hay, preſerved in ſtore in the County of *Kerry*, for the Horſes that ſhall be embarked; and, if there be not enough, it ſhall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats where-ever they can be found, at the King's rates.

17. That all Priſoners of War that were in *Ireland* the 28th. of *September*, ſhall be ſet at liberty on both ſides; and the General promiſes to uſe his Endeavours that thoſe that are in *England* or *Flanders* ſhall be ſet at liberty alſo.

18. The General will cauſe Proviſions and Medicines to be furniſh'd to the ſick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragooners, and Soldiers of the *Iriſh* Army, that cannot paſs into *France* at the firſt Embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them Ships to paſs into *France*, if they are willing to go.

19. That

19. That at the Signing hereof the General will ſend a Ship Expreſs to *France*, and that beſides he will furniſh two ſmall Ships, of thoſe that are now in the River of *Lymerick* to Tranſport two Perſons into *France* that are to be ſent to give Notice of this Treaty, and that the Commanders of the ſaid Ships ſhall have Orders to put a-ſhore at the next Port in *France* they ſhall make. *October*, 1691.

20. That all thoſe of the ſaid Troops, Officers, or Sol-diers, of what Character ſoever, that will paſs into *France*, ſhall not be ſtopp'd on the Account of Debt, or other Pretext.

21. If after the Signing this preſent Treaty, and be-fore the Arrival of the Fleet, a *French* Packet-Boat, or other Tranſport-Ship, ſhall arrive from *France* in any Part of *Ireland*, the General will order a Paſs-Port not only for ſuch as muſt go on Board the ſaid Ships, but to the Ships to come to the neareſt Port or Place where the Troops to be tranſported ſhall be quartered.

22. That after the Arrival of the Fleet, there ſhall be free Communication and Paſſage between it and the Quarters of the aboveſaid Troops; and eſpecially for all thoſe that have Paſſes from the Chief Com-manders of the ſaid Fleet, or from Monſieur *Tameron* the Intendant.

23. In Conſideration of the preſent Capitulation, the two Towns of *Lymerick* ſhall be delivered and put into the Hands of the General, or any other Perſon that he ſhall appoint at the Times and Days hereafter ſpe-cified; *viz.* the *Iriſh* Town, except Magazines and Hoſpital, on the day of the ſigning theſe preſent Articles; and as for the *Engliſh* Town, it ſhall remain, together with the Iſland and free Paſſage of *Thomond-Bridge* in the

October, 1691.

the hands of thoſe of the *Iriſh* Army that are now in th Garriſon, or that ſhall hereafter come from the Counti of *Cork*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Sligo*, and other Places abov mentioned, until there ſhall be Conveniency found f their Tranſportation.

24. And to prevent all Diſorders that may happ between the Garriſon that the General ſhall place *Iriſh* Town, which ſhall be delivered to him and the *Iriſh* Troops that ſhall remain in the *E liſh* Town, and the Iſland, which they may do unt the Troops to be embarked on the firſt Fifty Shi ſhall be gone for *France*, and no longer, they ſha intrench themſelves on both ſides, to hinder th Communication of the ſaid Garriſons, and it ſhall b prohibited on both ſides to offer any thing that offenſive, and the Parties offending ſhall be puniſhed o either ſide.

25. That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Garriſon t march out at once, or at different times, as they ca be embarked with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating Match lighted at both ends, Bullet in Mouth, Colou flying, ſix Braſs-Guns, ſuch as the Beſieged ſhall chuſ two Mortar-Pieces, and half the Ammunition that now in the Magazines of the ſaid Place; and for th purpoſe, an Inventory of all the Ammunition in the Ga riſon ſhall be made in the preſence of any Perſon that th General ſhall appoint the next Day after the preſent Ar cles be ſigned.

26. All the Magazines of Proviſions ſhall remai in the hands of thoſe that are now employed to take ca of the ſame, for the Subſiſtence of thoſe of the *Iri* Army that will paſs into *France*; and that if there ſha no

et be ſufficient in the Stores for the Support of the ſaid Troops while they ſtay in this Kingdom, and are croſſing the Seas, that upon giving an account of their Numbers, the General will furniſh them with ſufficient Proviſions at the King's rates; and that there ſhall be a free Market in *Lymerick* and other Quarters where the ſaid Troops ſhall be: And in Caſe any Proviſions ſhall remain in the Magazines of *Lymerick* when the Town ſhall be given up, it ſhall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Proviſions to be furniſh'd to the Troops on Ship-Board. *October*, 1691.

17. That there ſhall be a Ceſſation of Arms at Land, and alſo at Sea, with reſpect to the Ships, whether *Engliſh*, *Dutch* or *French*, deſigned for the Tranſportation of the ſaid Troops, until they ſhall be returned to their reſpective Harbours; and that on both ſides they ſhall be furniſh'd with ſufficient Paſs-Ports both for Ships and Men; and if any Sea-Commander or Captain of a Ship; any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon, or Soldier, or any other Perſon, ſhall act contrary to this Ceſſation, the Perſons ſo acting ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide, and ſatisfaction ſhall be made for the wrong that is done; and Officers ſhall be ſent to the Mouth of the River of *Lymerick*, to give notice to the Commanders of the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets of the preſent Conjuncture, that they may obſerve the Ceſſation of Arms accordingly.

18. That for ſurety of the Execution of this preſent Capitulation, and of each Article therein contained, the beſieged ſhall give the following Hoſtages.

29. If

October, 1691.

29. If before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any Change in the Government or Command of the Army, which is now commanded by General *Ginckel*, all thoſe that ſhall be appointed to command the ſame, ſhall be obliged to obſerve and execute what is ſpecified in theſe Articles, or cauſe it to be executed punctually, and ſhall not act contrary on any account.

D' Uſſon,

Le Chevalier de Teſſee,

Latour Monfort

Mark Talbot,

Lucan

Jo. Wauchop

Galmoy,

M. Purcell.

ARTICLE

October 1691

ARTICLES agreed upon the Third Day of October 1691. *between the Right Honourable Sir* Charles Porter, *Knight, and* Thomas Conyngeſby *Eſq; Lords Juſtices of* Ireland, *and his Excellency the Baron* De Ginckel, *Lieut. General, and Commader in Chief of the* Engliſh *Army, on the one part, and the Right Honourable* Patrick *Earl of* Lucan, Percy, *Viſcount* Gallmoy, *Col.* Nic. Purcell, *Col.* Dillon, *and Col.* John Browne, *on the other ſide; on the behalf of the* Iriſh *Inhabitants in the City and County of* Lymerick, *the Counties of* Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo, *and* Mayo, *in conſideration of the ſurrender of the City of* Lymerick, *and other Agreements made between the ſaid Lieut. Gen.* Ginckel, *the Governour of the City of* Lymerick, *and the Generals of the* Iriſh *Army, bearing Date with theſe Preſents, for the Surrender of the ſaid City, and Submiſſion of the ſaid Army.*

1. THat the *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch Privileges in the Exerciſe of their Religion as are conſiſtent with the Laws of *Ireland*, or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; and Their Majeſties (aſſoon as their Affairs will permit them to ſummon a Parliament in this Kingdom) will endeavour to procure the ſaid *Roman* Catholicks ſuch further Security in that Particular, as may preſerve them from any diſturbance upon the account of their ſaid Religion.

2. All the Inhabitants or Reſidents of *Lymerick*, or any other Garriſon now in the poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*, and all Officers and Souldiers now in Arms under any Commiſſion of K. *James*, or thoſe Authorized by him, to grant the ſame

October 1691.

in the ſeveral Counties of *Lymerick*, *Cork*, *Kerry*, *Clare*, *Sligo*, and *Mayo*, or any of them, and all the Commiſſion'd Officers in their Majeſties Quarters, that belong to the *Iriſh* Regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not Priſoners of War, or have taken Protection, who ſhall return, and ſubmit to Their Majeſties Obedience, their and every of their Heirs, ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy all and every their Eſtates of Free-hold and Inheritance, and all the Right, Title, and Intereſt, Privileges and Immunities which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled to in the Reign of K. *Charles* the Second; or at any time ſince, by the Laws and Statutes that were in force in the ſaid Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and ſhall be put in poſſeſſion by order of the Government of ſuch of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all ſuch Eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all Arrears of Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and other publick Charges incurred, and become due ſince *Michaelmas* 1688, to the Day of the Date hereof; and all Perſons comprehended in this Article, ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their Goods and Chattels real and perſonal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own Hands, or in the Hands of any Perſons whatſoever in Truſt for, or for the Uſe of them, or any of them: And all and every the ſaid Perſons, of what Profeſſion, Trade, or Calling ſoever they be, ſhall and may uſe, exerciſe, and practiſe their ſeveral and reſpective Profeſſions, Trades and Callings as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe and enjoy the ſame in the Reign of K. *James* the Second; provided that nothing in this Article contained, be conſtrued to extend to, or reſtore any forfeiting Perſon now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprized: Provided alſo, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall have or enjoy the Benefit

Benefit of this Article, that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance made by Act of Parliament in *England*, in the firſt year of the Reign of their preſent Majeſties, when thereunto required. *October* 1691.

3. All Merchants, or reputed Merchants of the City of *Lymerick*, or of any other Garriſon now poſſeſſed by the *Iriſh*, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of *Clare*, or *Kerry*, who are abſent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms ſince Their Majeſties Declaration in *February* 168$\frac{8}{9}$, ſhall have the Benefit of the Second Article, in the ſame manner as if they were preſent; provided ſuch Merchants, and reputed Merchants do repair into this Kingdom within the ſpace of eight Months from the Date hereof.

4. The following Officers, *viz.* Col. *Simon Lutterill*, Col. *Rowland White*, *Maurice Euſtace* of *Tearmanſtown*, *Cheviers* of *Mayſtown*, commonly called *Mount-Linſter*, now belonging to the Regiments of the aforeſaid Garriſons and Quarters of the *Iriſh* Army who are beyond the Seas, and ſent thither upon Affairs of their reſpective Regiments, or the Army in general, ſhall have the Benefit and Advantage of the Second Article, provided they return hither within the ſpace of eight Months from the Date of theſe Preſents, and ſubmit to Their Majeſties Government, and take the above-mentioned Oath.

5. That all and ſingular the ſaid Perſons comprized in the Second and Third Articles, ſhall have a General Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treaſons, Miſpriſions of Treaſons, Premunires, Felonies, Treſpaſſes, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors whatſoever by them or any of them, committed ſince the beginning of the Reign of K. *James* the Second; and if any of them are attainted by

October 1691.

Parliament, the Lords Juſtices and the General will uſe their beſt Endeavours to get the ſame Repealed by parliament, and the Outlawries to be Reverſed *gratis*, all but Writing-Clerks Fees.

6. Whereas theſe preſent Wars have drawn great Violences upon both Parties, and if Leave were given to the bringing of all ſorts of private Actions, the Animoſities would probably continue that have been ſo long on foot, and the publick Diſturbances laſt; for the quieting and ſettling therefore of the Kingdom, and the avoiding thoſe Inconveniences which would be the neceſſary conſequence of the contrary, no Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever comprized in the foregoing Articles, ſhall be ſued, moleſted, or impleaded at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatſoever, for any Treſpaſſes by them committed, or for any Arms, Horſes, Moneys, Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes, or Proviſions whatſoever, by them ſeized or taken during the Time of the War; and no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever in the Second or Third Articles comprized, ſhall be ſued, or made accountable for the Rents or Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houſes by him or them reſerved or enjoyed in this Kingdom ſince the beginning of the preſent War, to the Day of the Date hereof; nor for any Waſte or Treſpaſs by him or them committed in any ſuch Lands, Tenements, or Houſes: And it is alſo agreed, that this Article ſhall be mutual and reciprocal on both ſides.

7. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprized in the Second and Third Articles, ſhall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and Caſe of Piſtols if they think fit, and keep a Gun in their Houſes for the Defence of the ſame, or Fowling.

8. The

8. The Inhabitants and Reſidents of the City of *Lymerick*, and other Garriſons, ſhall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Proviſions out of the ſame, without being viewed or ſearch'd, or paying any manner of Duties, and ſhall not be compelled to leave their Houſes or Lodgings they now have therein, for the ſpace of ſix Weeks next enſuing the Date hereof. October 1691.

9. The Oath to be adminiſtred to ſuch *Roman* Catholicks as ſubmit to Their Majeſties Government, ſhall be the Oath afore-ſaid, and no other.

10. No Perſon or Perſons who ſhall at any time hereafter break theſe Articles, or any of them, ſhall thereby make or cauſe any other Perſon or Perſons to forfeit or loſe the Benefit of the ſame.

11. The Lords Juſtices and General do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours that all Perſons comprehended in the above-mentioned Articles, ſhall be protected and defended from all Arreſts and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the ſpace of eight Months next enſuing the Date hereof.

12. Laſtly, The Lords Juſtices and the General do undertake, That Their Majeſties will ratifie theſe Articles within the ſpace of three Months, or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in the Parliament.

13. *And whereas Col. *John Browne* ſtood indebted unto ſeveral Proteſtants by Judgments of Record, which appearing to the late Government, the Lords *Tyrconnel* and *Lucan* took away the Effects the ſaid *John Browne* had to anſwer the ſaid Debts; which Effects were taken for the publick

*2 Whether it be conform to the Laws of War, that one and the ſame Perſon ſhould be included in Articles of Surrender of three diſtinct places, as was Col. *J. Browne*.

October 1691.

publick Uſe of the *Iriſh*, and their Army, for freeing the ſaid Lord *Lucan* of his ſaid Engagement paſt upon their publick Account for payment of the ſaid Proteſtants, for preventing the Ruine of the ſaid *John Browne*, and for ſatisfaction of his ſaid Creditors, at the inſtance of the ſaid Lord *Lucan*, and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid, it is agreed, That the ſaid Lords Juſtices, and Lieut. General *Ginckel* ſhall interpoſe with the King and Parliament, to have the Eſtates ſecured to *Roman* Catholicks by Articles and Capitulations in this Kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of ſo much of the ſaid Debts as the ſaid Lord *Lucan*, upon ſtating Accounts with the ſaid *John Browne*, ſhall certifie under his hand, that the Effects taken from the ſaid *John Browne*, amount unto; Account is to be ſtated, and the Balance certified by the ſaid Lord *Lucan* in 21 Days after the Date hereof: For the true performance whereof, we have hereunto ſet our Hands:

Preſent,

Scravemore. *Charles Porter.*
H. *Mackay.* *Tho. Conyngesby.*
T. *Talmaſh.* Baron *De Ginckel.*

And

AND whereas the ſaid City of Lymerick hath been ſince, in purſuance of the ſaid Articles, ſurrendered unto Us. Now know ye, That We having conſidered of the ſaid Articles, are graciouſly pleaſed hereby to declare that We do for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, as far as in Us lies, ratifie and confirm the ſame, and every Clauſe, Matter, and Thing therein contained. And as to ſuch parts thereof, for which an Act of Parliament ſhall be found to be neceſſary, We ſhall recommend the ſame to be made good by Parliament; and ſhall give Our Royal Aſſent to any Bill or Bills, that ſhall be paſſed by Our Two Houſes of Parliament to that purpoſe. And whereas it appears unto Us that it was agreed between the Parties to the ſaid Articles, that after the Words, Lymerick, Clare, Cerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the ſecond of the ſaid Articles, the Words following; viz. And all ſuch as are under their Protection in the ſaid Counties, ſhould be inſerted, and be part of the ſaid Articles; which Words having been caſually omitted by the Writer, the omiſſion was not diſcovered till after the ſaid Articles were ſigned, but was taken notice of before the ſecond Town was ſurrendered. And that Our ſaid Juſtices and General, or one of them, did promiſe that the ſaid Clauſe ſhould be made good, it being within the Intention of the Capitulation, and inſerted in the foul Draught thereof. Our further Will and Pleaſure is, and We do hereby ratifie and confirm the ſaid Words; viz. (And all ſuch as are under their Protection in the ſaid Counties) hereby for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ordaining, and declaring, that all and every Perſon and Perſons therein concerned, ſhall, and may have, receive, and enjoy the Benefit thereof in ſuch and the ſame manner, as if the Words had been inſerted in their proper place, in the ſaid ſecond Article, any omiſſion, defect, or miſtake in the ſaid ſecond Article, in any ways notwithſtanding. Provided. October, 1691.

October 1691.

Provided always, and Our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters-Patents shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, *in our said Kingdom of* Ireland, *within the space of one Year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness Our self at* Westminster, *the Twenty fourth Day of* February, Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ, quarto, per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem præmissor. prædict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. Domini Regis & Dominæ Reginæ pro Regno Hiberniæ, duximus exemplificandum per præsentes. In Cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis Annoque Regni eorum quarto,

Bridges.

Examinat. per Nos { *S. Keck*, *Lacon W. Child.* } in Cancel. Magistros.

We take possession of the Out-Works,

Our Men had Orders to march into the *Irish* Town that Night; but it was after Sun-set before the Articles were signed; and therefore Major-General *Talmash* that was appointed to take possession of the Town, did not think it convenient to march in the Night, but commanded Count *Nassaw*'s and Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton*'s Regiments to take possession of the Stone-Fort, and all the Out-Works of the *Irish-Town*: And on the fourth, five of our Regiments march'd in, and took possession of the *Irish* Town, wherein we found 14 pieces of Canon, and a Church heap'd full of Oats, which the *Irish* had the Benefit of, according to the Articles. The Works were all exceeding strong, and the Town as dirty, the

and of the Town.

Irish

Iriſh had left very little elſe in it however, but carried every thing away that might do them the leaſt Service. Our Regiments in Town were relieved every day as long as the Army ſtaid, becauſe the Place was ſo diſordered, that we could not abide long in it till things were in ſome meaſure better diſpoſed of. At our going in, we planted a Guard at one end of *Balls-Bridge* as the *Iriſh* had at the other. *October*, 1691.

October the Fifth, One hundred Men out of each Foot-Regiment were ordered to level the Works that we had caſt up againſt the Town; and, about Ten a-Clock, the General received a Letter from a Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Iriſh* Army, complaining that he was impriſoned for denying to go with them into *France*; which the General took ſo very ill, that he ordered four Guns to be carried immediately down, and planted upon *Balls-Bridge*, ſaying, with ſome heat, that he would teach them to play Tricks with him; which my Lord *Lucan* hearing of, (for ſo we may venture to call Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield* now, ſince the Articles do it) he came out to our Camp, and ſeveral ſharp Words paſſed, my Lord *Lucan* ſaying, at laſt, that *he was then in the General's Power. Not ſo* (replies the other) *but you ſhall go in, and then do the beſt you can*; but he endeavoured to excuſe the thing, by ſaying there were Priſoners of War, and Priſoners of State, for ſome Misdemeanors againſt their Government; ſome of thoſe, though not obliged by the Articles, they had ſet at liberty, who coming warm from our Camp afterwards, they begun to rail and ſpeak diſ-reſpectfully of the *Iriſh* Officers, for which this Lieutenant-Colonel was impriſon'd, and not for deſiring to leave them; ſo that after ſome other Replies, all things were quiet, and the Priſoner enlarged. The General however ſent ten Field-Pieces and ſix Canon into the Iriſh Town, and in the Afternoon ordered the following Declaration.

Our Batteries levelled.

A Lieutenant-Colonel impriſon'd for denying to go with the *Iriſh* into *France*.

October, 1691.

By Lieutenant-General Ginckel, *Commander in Chief of Their Majeſties Forces.*

THeir Majeſties having ſufficiently manifeſted to the World their Intention of bringing this Kingdom into a ſtate of Quiet and Repoſe, and to the flouriſhing Condition it formerly was in; and for that Reaſon have extended their Grace and Favour to thoſe that, till now, have been in Arms againſt them. We cannot but let the Officers and Soldiers of the *Iriſh* Army know how willing we are to indulge, and provide for them, that by remaining in this Kingdom, or ſerving Their Majeſties abroad, had rather promote the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Intereſt, than the Deſigns of *France* againſt both: And do therefore promiſe and declare, that all Officers and Soldiers of the ſaid Army that have a mind to return to their homes, ſhall have leave to do ſo with all their Goods and Effects, and there be permitted to live quietly and peaceably under the Protection and Encouragement of the Government. And although, by the Capitulation, all the Troopers of that Army, beſides the ſix hundred that have Licenſe to go beyond Sea, were to deliver up their Horſes without payment, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame; yet we do hereby give the ſaid Troopers and Dragoons leave to ſell their Horſes to whom they think fit, and will pay them for their Arms upon their giving them up to the Officer, commanding the Train of Artillery, either in the *Iriſh* Town of *Limerick*, or the Camp: As alſo to the Foot-Soldiers; they ſhall likewiſe be paid for their Arms, they bringing them in. As for thoſe Officers and Soldiers that are willing to take Service under Their Majeſties, they ſhall have Quarters immediately aſſigned them, and receive Subſiſtence till Their Majeſties further Plea-

ſure

ſure; for which end they may ſend two Officers of their own to *England*, or elſewhere, to receive from Their Majeſties themſelves what further Orders they ſhall pleaſe to give herein. And whereas it has induſtriouſly been ſpread about, that ſuch of the Iriſh as enter into Their Majeſties Service will be ſent into *Hungary*, and other remote Parts, contrary to their Inclinations and Deſires; We aſſure them they ſhall not be obliged to ſerve in any Place againſt their Wills, no more than be conſtrained to take Service here, or return to their homes, they being at full and entire liberty to chuſe what part they will take; but if once they go into *France*, they muſt not expect to return into this Kingdom again. Given at the Camp, by *Lymerick*, the 5th. of *October*, 1691. *October*, 1691.

Baron De Ginckel.

That Afternoon, my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Wauchop* made Speeches to the *Iriſh* Souldiers in Town and in the King's Iſland, telling them, that though they were under indifferent Circumſtances at preſent; yet next Spring, or ſoon after, they would either be landed in *England*, or elſe in *Ireland*, with a powerful Army; every Officer amongſt them keeping their preſent Poſts, at leaſt, and would always be upon an *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment, and receive *Engliſh* Pay, even in *France* it ſelf; and a great many other Advantages were laid before them, which would have ſeem'd improbable to any but *Iriſh*-Men, who eaſily believe what they wou'd have, but are as ſoon dejected at any frivolous Misfortune. And whilſt they were at this Work, the General was ſettling the Quarters of ſeveral of our own Regiments, who now had endured a very long and active Campaigne.

October, 1691.

The Sixth in the Morning a Sermon was preached to each *Iriſh* Regiment by their Prieſts, declaring the Advantages to them and their Religion, by adhering to the *French* Intereſt, and the Inconveniences, nay, certain Damnation, of joining with Hereticks; and then a good Quantity of Brandy given them to waſh it down. After that the Biſhops gave their Bleſſings; and then the whole Body of the *Iriſh* Foot were drawn out on the County of *Clare*-ſide, being at leaſt Fourteen thouſand Men by Poll. The Lords-Juſtices and General went over the River to view them, Adjutant-General *Wythers* being appointed to acquaint them with the Advantages of our Service above that of *France*; and how unnatural it was for them to chuſe to go ſerve in a Foreign Countrey againſt the real Intereſt of their own, with much more to that purpoſe, and Care was likewiſe taken to diſtribute the General's Declaration. Then the Regiments were ordered to march, and thoſe that were for *France*, went on; but thoſe that were inclined to us, had liberty to file off at a Place appointed. That which they called the Royal Regiment, being then fourteen hundred Men, ſeem'd to go all entire except ſeven Men, which the General was much concerned at; then my Lord *Ivaeghe*'s Regiment of *Ulſter*, *Iriſh*, came off entire to our ſide, as did alſo Colonel *Wilſons*, and about half my Lord *Louth*'s, and a great many out of moſt other Regiments, Brigadier *Clifford*, Colonel *Henry Lutterel*, and Colonel *Purcel*, all appeared averſe to the going for *France*. And on the ſeventh, the Lords-Juſtices having performed all that was neceſſary on their ſide, they returned towards *Dublin*; and Colonel *Earles*, with a Regiment of *Danes*, march towards Quarters. The *Iriſh* had kept their Stores pretty entire, from the beginning of the Capitulation till after the Diviſion of Men; and then they diſtribute Bread, Brandy, Claret, and ſome little Money amongſt thoſe that ſtaid with them, as well to encourage

The *Iriſh* Foot drawn out, and put to the trial who would go or ſtay.

The Lords-Juſtices Return towards *Dublin*.

encourage ſome, as to prevent others from going off, keeping their Gates always faſt lock'd, and a ſtrong Guard at each. And now the General ſeem'd diſpleaſed that the *Iriſh* uſed indirect means to threaten their Men into a *French* Voyage, telling the *Iriſh* great Officers plainly, that if they broke the Articles, he thought himſelf no longer obliged to obſerve them; then Colonel *Matthews*, and Colonel *Lumley* were ſent to the Horſe-Camp upon the ſame account: And this day, and the next, my Lord *Iveagh*'s, Colonel *Wilſon*'s, part of my Lord *Dillon*'s, Colonel *Huſſey*'s, and other *Iriſh* Regiments were muſtered nigh the General's Quarters, making 1046 in thoſe two days, beſide double the number that had Paſſes to go home; thoſe that were muſtered had all of them Bread, Cheeſe, Brandy, and Tabaco, with a Fortnight's Subſiſtence given them by Adjutant-General *Wythers*, who never can be ſufficiently commended for the Care and Pains he has taken during the whole War of *Ireland*. *October*, 1691.

The General was reſolved to do all things poſſible to prevent the *Iriſh* going in ſo great Numbers out of the Kingdom, as being a ſtrengthning our Adverſaries, and a weakning of our ſelves; and therefore he orders the following Declaration to be Publiſhed.

By

October, 1691.

By Lieut. General Ginckel, *Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces.*

SInce it has pleased God to bless Their Majesties Arms with that Success as to reduce this Kingdom to their Obedience; to the end that all the Inhabitants of it may enjoy the Benefit of that Peace which has cost so much Blood, and the effusion of it for the future may be stopt, I think fit to make it publick, and declare, That all Persons of what Quality or Condition soever, have free liberty and permission to return to their several Homes with their Goods, Stocks, and Families, and there live quietly and peaceably under the Protection of the Government.

And whereas several straggling People remain still in Arms, and daily infest the Roads, committing Robberies and Murders upon Their Majesties Subjects; I do hereby require all such, whether known by the Name of *Rapparies*, *Voluntiers*, *Creights*, or others, to return quietly to their respective Parishes, deliver up their Arms, and enter their Names with some of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the Counties to which they belong, within the time limited by the Lords-Justices Proclamation, upon pain of being exempted from all manner of Quarter. And all Justices of the Peace are hereby directed to make Entry and Register of all the Names of all such Persons as aforesaid. And I command all Officers and Souldiers of the Army, and other Persons whatsoever, to forbear committing any Act of Violence or Hostility, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost Perils.

Given at the Camp by *Lymerick*, this 6*th*. of *October*, 1691.

Baron *De Ginckel*.

October

October 1691.

October . Brigadier *Leviſon*'s Dragoons march from the Camp towards *Kerry*, and the Earl of *Portland*'s, with another Regiment of Horſe, go towards *Green Ann* Caſtle, to ſecure the Roads againſt the *Rapparees*, eſpecially againſt *Hogan*, and his Party. Several of our Regiments move from beyond the River over the Bridge again, and many of them being pretty thin by reaſon of hard Marches and continual Duty, ſome *Iriſh* were enliſted to ſtrengthen them; an Inſtance of the various Scenes in humane Affairs, that thoſe very Men we were ſo buſie endeavouring to deſtroy, and they ten times more inveterate againſt us, ſhould yet be ſo far reconciled in ſo ſhort a time, as to have them on our ſide, and eat and ſleep amongſt us; but Souldiers often think no further than Command; and we ſee it in Truces, That the very next moment after the ſharpeſt Conflict, a Ceſſation being agreed to, the Men are preſently as good Friends as if they never had fallen out.

October 9. Three more *Daniſh* Regiments move towards Quarters, and a great many of the *Iriſh* that came off, laid down their Arms at the Train, and ſo had Paſſes to go home, with Money to bear their Charges, which made it ſomething ſcarce amongſt our ſelves, though the poor men did not grudge it.

The 10*th*. Moſt of our Army returned from beyond the River, and 1000 *Iriſh* Horſe and Dragoons that came over to our ſide, were muſtered by Commiſſary *Allen*.

On the 12*th*. The *Iriſh* Horſe that deſigned for *France*, marched through the *Engliſh* Town, and ſo out at the Water-Gate, towards *Cork*, being not one Thouſand in Number as they paſſed by our Camp,

The 13*th*. Lieut. Gen. *Ginckel* with the Army march from *Lymerick* towards Quarters, leaving Sir *David Collier* Governour of *Lymerick*, with his own, Col. *Venner*'s, Col. *St. John*'s, and Col. *Craighton*'s, with one Regiment more in

The Army march from *Lymerick*.

October, 1691. in the *Iriſh* Town, my Lord *Drogheda*'s, and my Lord *Lisburn*'s being encamp'd nigh the River-ſide; without the Walls, till the *Iriſh* ſhould march out of the *Engliſh* Town. Major General *Talmaſh* ſtaid behind to ſee good Order kept, and the Articles obſerved on both ſides, according to the Deſign of them.

Some of the *Iriſh* march out. Aſſoon as our Army marched away, the *Iriſh* Foot-Guards went out towards *Cork*; they were called 1400 Men the Week before; but now, as nigh as I could count them, they made only 482: nor was this Number left before they got to *Cork*.

The 14*th*. The *Iriſh* make a diſtribution of Proviſions, and ſome Money amongſt their Men, and are fitting out their Guns and other Tackle in Town for *France*.

And here it may be enquired by ſome, what Security our General had for the Return of ſo many Ships as muſt be employed in that Expedition, ſince they were to go into the Country of our greateſt Enemy, and K. *James* had a ſpecious Pretext, as they were his Subjects, to detain them; they having no Power to make Articles to his prejudice, *&c.*

But this is no difficult Buſineſs to reſolve, ſince they had the publick Faith of the *French* and *Iriſh* Officers, which is ſeldom or never violated in ſuch Caſes; but all Men, during a Ceſſation, are commonly treated with the greateſt Civility imaginable: Beſides which, my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Waughop* gave the following Engagement under their Hands, as did alſo the two *French* Lieut. Generals *D'Uſſone* and *De Teſſee*, another in *French*, to the ſame purpoſe; giving alſo Hoſtages for the better performance of all Conditions.

We

October 1691.

We, the Earl of *Lucan*, and Major General *Wauhop*, whoſe Names are under-written, do hereby promiſe,

My Lord *Lucan* and Major-General *Wauhop's* Engagement for the Shipping.

1. THat *all the Ships that have been furniſhed by Lieut. General* Ginckel, *and that are to tranſport Troops from* Ireland *to* France, , *according to the late Capitulation, ſhall be ſent back, and return to* Cork, Kinſale, *or* Waterford, *without any hinderance or prejudice to the ſaid Ships by any Men of War, Privateers, or other Ships belonging to the* French *King, or having his Commiſſion.*

2. *That, aſſoon as the ſaid Ships ſhall have Landed the* Iriſh *Troops in* France, *they ſhall have full liberty to go back for* Ireland *when they think fit, without being hindered upon any pretence whatſoever.*

3. *That, if the ſaid Ships do want ſome Proviſions for their Return here into* Ireland, *they ſhall be ſupplied with all ſuch as they ſhall have occaſion for at the ſame Rates they were furniſhed in* Ireland *to the* Iriſh *Troops for their Tranſportation into* France, *and what they amount to, ſhall be deducted out of the Money that ſhall be due for the Proviſions that were put on Board the Ships for the ſaid Troops.*

4. *That the Rates of the Proviſions that ſhall be furniſhed for Tranſportation of the ſaid Troops, ſhall be paid immediately after their Landing in* France, *or in Bills of Exchange payable at* London, *at* 15 *days ſight.*

October 1691.

And if the Contents of this preſent Agreement ſhould not be put in execution in all its Particulars, or in any one part, beſides Col. Hugh Mac Mahon, *Col.* Robert Arthur, *Col.* O Gara, &c. *that ſhall be left in* Ireland *for Hoſtages, we do engage our Words and Honour, that we ſhall ſurrender our ſelves Priſoners of War three months after our Landing in caſe of Contravention, at* Whitehall, *in the Hands of the Secretaries of State. In Witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſet our Hands this* 14*th. Day of* October, 1691.

Jo. Wauhop. Lucan.

The 16*th.* my Lord *Lucan* went from *Lymerick* towards *Cork*, to ſee things in a readineſs for the *Iriſh* Tranſportation; and the ſame day Sir *Maurice Euſtace*'s, Major General *Talbot*'s, Lord *Bedloe*'s, Prince of *Wales*'s, my Lore *Clanrichard*'s, and Col. *Bremingham*'s Regiments being joyned, they march'd out, and made in all only 618 Men.

As they march'd through the *Iriſh*-Town, their men run away by dozens, having the way open for them; nor could their Officers prevent it by all their Care; for they kept the Gates always faſt lock'd, and yet ſeveral from within the Town made their Eſcapes by ſwimming the River.

The 17*th.* my Lord *Iniskillin*'s Regiment, that had been for ſome time in the County of *Clare*, was muſtered beyond the Town, and ſo were ſome others of them on the 18*th.* and 19*th.* During which time, our men were employed in making clean the *Iriſh* Town; Major General *Talmaſh* going often amongſt them himſelf, to encourage them to work.

CHAP.

October 1691

CHAP. X.

The Campaign ended. Iriſh *Priſoners of War releaſed. ſome Rapparees lay down their Arms. Proclamations of Pardon to the reſt. The* Ulſter-Iriſh *return home with their Cattle. The* French *Fleet arrives in the* Shannon. *Sir* Ralph Delaval *with a Squadron in thoſe Seas. Two Letters from the General to him. Some Objections againſt the Articles of* Limerick *anſwered. The laſt of the* Iriſh *quit the* Engliſh *Town.* 120 *of them drowned. Their Horſe ſhip off at* Cork. *The General goes to* Dublin. *The Recorder's Speech to him. Orders for muſtering our Army. Major-General* Talmaſh *leaves* Limerick. *Orders for the* Danes *to ſhip off. Fortifications at* Mullingar *and* Ballymore *demoliſhed. A Proclamation. The General goes for* England. *The Tranſport-Ships return from* France. *The late King's Letter to the* Iriſh *at their landing. Their Reception in* France. *Several deſert that were not, as yet, ſhipp'd off. My Lord* Lucan's *Releaſe to the General. All the* Iriſh *go off, except the Hoſtages. The Iriſh that ſtaid very unruly in their Quarters. Orders and Inſtructions for breaking of them. The Oaths taken according to the New Act of Parliament. An Order to turn out all* Iriſh *Papiſts from our Regiments, Arms, and Ammunition ſent for* England. *The* French *Hoſtages go for* France. *Lieutenant-General* Ruvigny *lands in* Ireland. *A Proclamation declaring the War of* Ireland *ended.*

AND now the Campaign being ended, ſo that no continued Thread of Affairs can be drawn from the Army, any thing that has happen'd ſince may poſſibly not be ſo acceptable; yet I hope it may not be amiſs to

October 1691.

give you ſome ſlender account how things have gone in that Kingdom ſince the Siege of *Limerick* to the time of the Proclamation for the War's being ended; though, before I proceed further, it will be neceſſary to look back, and bring the Actions done in ſeveral other parts of the Kingdom, up to the Armies removing from *Limerick*; which indeed may be told in few Words, ſince little of moment cou'd be expected in any other place, but where the Seat of War was fixed.

In the beginning of *October*, Sollicitor-General *Levinge*, and Sir *Richard Reves*, being appointed Judges for the *Connaught*-Circuit; becauſe the Countrey was very indifferently inhabited, and not as yet throughly ſettled, Aſſizes were appointed to be held for this Province, only at *Mullingar*, *Roſcommon*, and *Galway*, which was done accordingly: About 20 Rapparees were killed in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Cork*, by ſome ſmall Parties of the *Militia*; and one *Whitney*, with 4 more in his Company, were ſet upon, and murdered by a Party of Rapparees, as they were going towards the Queen's County, though they killed two, and wounded others before they were ſeized. And now thoſe looſe Fellows ſeeing how it was like to go with their Party, ſeveral of them come in under Protection, and deſire to ſerve their Majeſties abroad, when they were out of hopes to plunder their Subjects any longer at home.

Iriſh Priſoners of War releaſed.

All the *Iriſh* Priſoners of War that were in *Waterford*-Gaol, being upwards of 200, were ſet at liberty, as they were afterwards at ſeveral other Places; particularly at *Carigfergus*, where 15 Officers, and about 60 private Men had been Priſoners, ever ſince the Rout at *Cavan*: and at *Lambay*, where the Priſoners, taken at *Ballymore*, were kept moſt of this Summer; but now were all diſcharged according to the Capitulation.

And

And as the *Iriſh* grew weary of their former Courſes on that ſide of the Country towards *Dublin*, (or rather being forced to it when they could no longer carry it on,) ſo they ſubmitted apace in all the Corners of the Kingdom. On the 14*th*, one whom they termed Colonel *Burk*, a popular Man amongſt the Rapparees, with a great many of his Followers, came in and ſubmitted at *Loughrea* in the County of *Galway*. On the ſame Day the *Iriſh* Horſe, and ſome Foot, March from *Caſhell* towards *Cork*, the Prince of *Heſſe* going along, as well to prevent the *Iriſh* from plundering the Countrey, as to hinder any little Quarrels that might happen between them and our own Men as they met accidentally upon the March.

October 1691.

Some Rapparees lay down their Arms.

On the 14*th* Two Proclamations were Publiſhed by the Lords Juſtices and Council, one reciting a former Proclamation, Dated the 18*th* of *September*, promiſing Pardon and Protection to all Robbers, Thieves, and Rapparees, who within a Month ſhould ſurrender up their Arms to any Juſtice of the Peace, and take the Oath of Fidelity to Their Majeſties mentioned in the Articles of *Limerick*, requiring the Juſtices of the Peace to make a return under their Hands, of their Names, places of Abode, their Qualities, and Arms, but forbidding all protected Perſons, and others, to relieve, conceal, or harbour, the ſaid Robbers, who would not ſubmit; upon pain of forfeiting their own Protections, and being proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity of Law for ſuch offence: Promiſing alſo a Reward of Forty Shillings to any one that would bring in the heads of any ſuch Rogues as would not lay hold on this fair opportunity. By this Proclamation the time for their coming in was protracted till the Fifth of *November*.

Proclamations of Pardon to the reſt.

The

October 1691

The other Proclamation was to forbid all Officers and Souldiers of the Army, or others, to do any harm or injury to any of the *Irish*, or make any distinction of Nations, every one that takes the Oath, to be esteemed a Subject, and equally entitled to the Benefit of Their Majesties Laws with the rest, &c. By which means all things became so Calm on a sudden, as if there had been no Storm at all in that Kingdom.

Our Army are now on their March to their respective Winter Quarters, and those of the *Irish* that came over to us had Subsistence and Quarters assigned them till Their Majesties pleasure was further known.

On the 19*th*, *Hogan*, and most of his Crew, came in at *Roscreagh*, and had the benefit of the Proclamation, being afterwards allow'd Twenty Four Men by the General to suppress other Rapparees upon occasion, tho' this was fatal to him, for some of that sort of People Murdered him afterwards. All the Roads and other places leading from the Counties of *Kerry* and *Clare* towards the North, are now full of nothing but *Creights*, and vast stocks of Cattle driving homewards, which was a little odd to see, that they would rather hazzard the loss of their Cattle by a long March into *Ulster*, where they had formerly robb'd and plundered the Protestants, and were like to be called to an Account for it, at least they could expect no great encouragement in those places for the future, nor any assurance of their being received as Tenants to their old Farms at their return thither: One would have thought, I say, these things considered, that they would rather have endeavoured to stay in the Counties of *Kerry*, *Clare*, and *Limerick*, where there was Land enough for them, and at easie Rates, than to run all hazards by going down into the North; but the reason of this is plain, for there is so great

The *Ulster Irish* return home with their Cattle.

great an Antipathy between the *Ulſter Iriſh*, and thoſe in other parts of the Kingdom, as nothing can be more, and the Feuds amongſt them greater than between either, and their injured Proteſtant Neighbours, whoſe favour they had hopes of gaining ſooner, than the friendſhip of one another, neither Party truſting other, or ever deſiring it to be otherways; my Lord *Merion*, Brigadeer *Clifford*, Colonel *Henry Lutterill*, Baron *Purcell*, and a great many more of the *Iriſh* Nobility and Gentry go towards *Dublin*. *October* 1691.

By the Articles of *Limerick* you may ſee, that the *French* General Officers expected the coming of their Fleet, and what was only a report before, is now confirm'd, that they really did come, being Eighteen Men of War, Four Fireſhips, and Twenty Ships of Burden, under Monſieur *Shalterneau*, of which Monſieur *D'Uſſone* gives notice to Major General *Talmaſh*, and it was agreed to keep a friendly Correſpondence till all matters relating to the Articles were ſettled. The *French* releaſing ſome of our Ships that they had taken, before they heard of the Ceſſation. And nigh the ſame time the *Plimouth*, *Adventure*, and *Centurion*, Three of our Frigats came into *Kinſale*, having brought under their Convoy Two large Pinks with Powder and Ball for that Fort, and ſaid, they left Sir *Ralph Delaval*, with a Squadron of Thirty Men of War under his Command, about Twenty Five Leagues from thence. Which the General having notice of at *Kilkenny*, he writes a Letter to him, dated *October 25th*, giving him an account of the *French* Fleet's arrival in the *Shannon*, and deſiring him to Sail that way: And the Day after having received ſome Accounts how high the *French* carried themſelves, and how many Scruples the *Iriſh* great Officers made ſince their coming, he ſent away another Expreſs with the following Letter.

The *French* Fleet arrives in the *Shannon*.

Sir *Ralph Delaval* with a Squadron in theſe Seas.

The General writes Two Letters to him.

Kilkenny,

October 1691.

Kilkenny, October the 26th, 1691.

SIR,

To Sir *Ralph Delaval*.

'SInce the Letter I ſent you laſt Night, I find it more and more neceſſary that your Squadron ſhould come round to the *Shannon*, for the *French* Generals make ſo many difficulties ſince the coming of their Fleet, that they ſeem to deſign nothing but delaying of time: I muſt therefore again preſs you to Sail to the River as ſoon as poſſible, and place your ſelf ſo, that Captain *Coale* and the Ships he has with him may join you, to the end, that if the *French* break the Articles we have made, we may be in a Condition to do our ſelves right. I am informed there are ſeveral Frigats at *Cork* and *Kinſale*, which you'll pleaſe to make uſe of if you think you ſhall have occaſion for them. The *French* Fleet is now at *Scatterey*.

But whether the Wind would not ſerve our Fleet's, coming about to the *Shannon*, or what other reaſons there might be, I am a ſtranger to, tho' all that the *French* and *Iriſh* Officers inſiſted on after the coming of their Fleet, was only to have a *Clauſe* confirmed that was caſually omitted in the Articles which the General promiſed them, and Their Majeſties were pleaſed afterwards to Condeſcend to.

For it being late at Night when the Articles were agreed to, and they Engroſſed in haſte this Clauſe, *And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid Counties*, was omitted by the Engroſſer, tho' it was certainly inſerted in the foul Draught. This was what the *Iriſh* Officers deſired might be made good after the coming of the *French* Fleet: And firſt it was but reaſonable, ſeeing it was within the intent of the Articles. Secondly, It was Prudence not to deny it, ſince the *French* Fleet being Eighteen Men

of

of War, Four Fireſhips, and Twenty Ships of Burden were certainly too hard for Captain *Coal* and his Squadron then in the *Shannon*, and might have put what Men and Proviſions they pleaſed into the *Engliſh* Town, our Army alſo being gone to Quarters, we had only Five Regiments in the *Iriſh* Town, with my Lord *Drogheda*'s, and my Lord *Lisburn*'s, Encamp'd without the Walls. Proviſions alſo were ſo ſcarce with us, that our Men had only a Pint of Meal a Day allowed them, and the *Iriſh* in the other Town were not only more in number, but better provided, ſo that if Juſtice could not have obliged the General to the Confirmation of that *Clauſe*, yet diſcretion at that Juncture would. *October*, 1691.

In a Day or Two after the Articles were Signed, we had News that the *French* Fleet was come to *Dingle Bay*, with Ammunition and all ſorts of Proviſions for the Relief of the Town, this made the *Iriſh* Great Officers hang their Heads, to think they ſhould ſo eaſily part with a place of that importance, or rather, how they could Anſwer it to the *French* King, who had been at all that expence and hazard in order to their Relief, but the opportunity was loſt in doing it no ſooner, which ſome have look'd upon ſince as one of the falſeſt ſteps made in *France* of a long time, our King being now at leiſure to viſit them, inſtead of their ſupporting his Enemies in *Ireland*.

Some Objections againſt the Articles of *Limerick* Anſwered.

And tho' the *French* Fleet came too late to Relieve the Town, yet I hope it may not be impertinent to endeavour the Anſwering ſome Objections that have been ſince made againſt the Capitulations of *Limerick*: As if the Lords Juſtices and the General had condeſcended too far in granting the *Iriſh* any Terms at all, at leaſt ſuch as they did, which put them into a Condition of Revolting again whenſoever an opportunity offered it ſelf. That therefore Providence ſeem'd now to have given the *Iriſh* up, as the Barbarous Nations were formerly to the *Jews*, and

October, 1691.

that if this occaſion was neglected, of putting it out of their power for ever hereafter to endanger the *Engliſh* Intereſt: Or if it was not made a right uſe of, (by which they underſtood deſtroying of them Root and Branch,) then we might certainly expect, that all the Expence and Blood it has coſt *England* in their Reduction, will in a ſmall time ſignifie nothing; ſince it's obſerved, that the *Iriſh* of themſelves are a ſloathful People, naturally inclined to Spoil, Rapine, Stealth, and Oppreſſion, bred in no Trades, Manufactures, or other ways of Civil Induſtry, to live by in times of Peace, wherein they never did, nor can endure to continue long, loving always a ſavage and unbridled kind of Life: And therefore when one opportunity is neglected of deſtroying them, it will be the Juſtice of God to make them afterwards the Inſtruments of our puniſhment, as they have been hitherto. And thus Argue a great many People of that Countrey, who pretend good experience, and that very lately, for what they ſay.

But as to thoſe Compariſons between us and the *Jews*, the *Iriſh*, and the Barbarous Nations formerly Inhabiting *Judea*, there can be no juſt proportion made to draw any reaſonable Concluſions from, ſince the *Iriſh* are Chriſtians as well as we, tho' miſled and abuſed in a great many points, and have a natural right to their Countrey, which ſeveral of them have never forfeited by any Rebellions, how forward ſoever others may have been. And for my own part I muſt own my ſelf of the Opinion, that any Policy that is founded in Blood, and tends to the deſtruction of Mankind, is not ſo warrantable by the Law of God, as ſome people endeavour to make it, excepting that one Inſtance of the *Jews* which is no precedent to any other People: And what means ſoever may be uſed for the procuring of Unity, or Settlement, in a Countrey, Men muſt at the ſame time be careful not to deface and diſſolve the

the Bonds of Chriſtian Charity; nay, of humane Society, ſince acting the contrary, is but to daſh the ſecond Table againſt the firſt; and ſo to conſider others as of this or that Perſuaſion, and treat them ill upon that account, is to forget that they are Men (as my Lord *Bacon* has formerly obſerved;) And indeed to me it ſeems full as unreaſonable to deſtroy other People, purely becauſe they cannot think as we do, as it is for one man to ruine another, becauſe the outward Figure and Shape of his Body is not the ſame with his own. *October*, 1691.

Nor can I imagine that the deſtruction of thoſe men, if they really had been in our power, could any way have contributed either to the profit or further advancement of the Intereſt of that Country, ſince the Act of Settlement of the Crown of *England* upon their preſent Majeſties, very deliberately provides, *That no Papiſt, or any one marrying a Papiſt, ſhall for ever hereafter be capable to inherit the Imperial Crowns of theſe Kingdoms.* And the late ſwearing Act relating to *Ireland*, entituled, *An Act for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in* Ireland, *and appointing other new ones*, are both very conſiderable Advantages to the Proteſtant Intereſt in that Kingdom; and no doubt, it will be eaſier for the Government to obſerve, and keep their part of thoſe Articles, than for the *Iriſh* themſelves to do their duty; which will be ſeen in time; and there are other convenient Maxims to be obſerved; which, being things out of my way, I do not pretend to conſider them; what I have to offer upon this Head, being rather Matter of Fact than Argument, and that by comparing the ſtate of the *Iriſh* at *Lymerick*, and other Places of the Kingdom, at the making of theſe Articles; with their Condition at their ſurrendring up all in the former Wars.

In the former Wars of *Ireland*, the City of *Lymerick* was ſurrendered to *Ireton* on the 29th. of *October* 1651,

October, 1691. upon ſevere Articles; the Governour, the Titular Biſhop of *Lymerick*, and twelve more being excepted by name, and ſome of theſe were afterwards executed; but during the Siege, the *Iriſh* loſt 5000 men, of whom the Plague deſtroyed many more than the Sword; 1300 only marched out, and about 4000 *Iriſh* remained within. *Cox*, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 69.

Then *Galway* was ſurrendered on the 12th. of *May* following, to Sir *Charles Coot*; and on the 27th. of *June*, Major General *Ludlow* frighted the Garriſon of *Roſs* in *Kerry*, into a Surrender, by a ſmall Veſſel that he was bringing over the Hills to put into the Lough that ſurrounds *Roſs*-Caſtle. *Roſscommon* and *James-Town* had ſurrendred to Col. *Reynolds* on the 27th. of *April* before, and *Inchylough* ſurrendred to Col. *Zanchy* on the firſt of *Auguſt*, at what time the Lords of *Weſtmeath* and *Muskery*, *O Connor Roe*, Sir *Francis Talbot*, Sir *William Dungan*, and ſeveral others ſubmitted upon thoſe Conditions, *That they ſhould abide a Trial for the Murders committed in the beginning of the Rebellion, and thoſe that only aſſiſted in the War, were to forfeit two Thirds of their Eſtates, and to be baniſhed.*

And what I would further obſerve, is this, That when the General Aſſembly of the Popiſh Clergy, and others, at *Loughreagh*, deſired the then Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s leave to treat with the Enemy for the Nation in general, at the Surrender of *Galway*, *Cromwel*'s Army poſitively refuſed it; being reſolved not to admit of any Treaty for the whole; but thoſe that would capitulate, ſhould do it only for themſelves, or the Towns and Places they reſpectively belonged to: By which means tho' the Town of *Galway* was the laſt conſiderable one that was ſurrendered; being on the 12th. of *May* 1652. yet it was the 26th. of *September* 1653. before it was declared *That the Rebels were ſubdued, and the Rebellion appeaſed and ended.* And though

though His Majeſties Proclamation about the ending of this preſent War, was nigh ſix Months after the Surrender of *Lymerick*, yet this was deferred, only with reſpect to the poverty of the Country, in forgiving the Kingdom half a years Quit-Rents, and had not the leaſt relation to any appearance of a further Diſturbance, as appears by the Proclamation it ſelf. *October*, 1691.

Now if *Lymerick* had been no ſtronger Town when we laſt beſieged it, than it was ſome time after the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, when Earl *Reymond*, Son-in-Law to *Strongbow*, and General of the Army, with *David Walſh*, and others, ſwam into the King's Iſland; who taking the City (without any ſort of Cannon) and plundering it, they left a Garriſon of their own men there; or indeed if it had been in no better condition than in the former Wars, when there appeared nothing like Works without the Walls themſelves; or if the *Iriſh* People were no better skill'd in Arms now, than they have been heretofore, even in the late times, being moſt of them rather a confuſed Rabble, than any thing that deſerved the Name of an Army; then it had been a Reflection upon an Army ſo well diſciplin'd, and in ſo good order as ours was, not to have humbled them without any Terms: But beſides the natural ſtrength of its Situation, *Lymerick* is now improved by Art to that degree, that it is very much ſtronger than it was when we laid Siege to it the former year, the Enemy with extraordinary diligence and induſtry having ſince that, caſt up very ſtrong new Works round the *Iriſh* Town with great Improvements in the King's Iſland, and elſewhere. And the *Iriſh* had not only the Advantages of being train'd up to the uſe of Arms by my Lord *Tyrconnel*, and ſerving in an Army for ſome years paſt, but ſeveral of them have been abroad in foreign Service, beſides the being for the moſt part in Action during the three Campagnes in *Ireland*; and Cuſtom it ſelf, is, no doubt of

October, 1691.

of it, one Point of Courage. But thoſe who ever read the Story of *Noteburg*, will not wonder at this Capitulation; this (they ſay) is a Town built in an Iſland at the Entrance of the Lake *Lagoda*, made by the *Muſcovites*, and encompaſſed with a ſtrong Wall againſt the Attempts of the *Suedes*; it ſtanding upon their Frontiers: This the *Suedes* took under the Command of *James De la Garde*, but not till the Extremities of the Siege; and a contageous Diſeaſe had conſumed the whole Garriſon to two Men, who yet made a very advantageous Capitulation. *vid.* Ambaſſadors of *Hollands* Travels into *Muſcovy* and *Ruſſia*.

And as to the *Iriſh*, it muſt needs be acknowledged that they never had formerly ſo fair a Pretext as now; nor had they ever been ſo unanimous (ſince in the late Wars they had at leaſt three different Armies on Foot at the ſame time) they had now alſo the Aſſiſtance and Encouragement of *France*, which is without queſtion at preſent one of the moſt powerful Intereſts in the World; and if they had held out till the following Winter, they muſt needs have much fatigued our Army, by continual Alarms and Watchings, beſides other Difficulties that would have attended us in a Blockade, in which there's no ſubſiſting without continual Supplies of Money, Ammunition, and Victuals; and eſpecially near ſuch a place as *Limerick* then was, the Countrey thereabouts being ruined and exhauſted in continuing the Seat of War for two Campaigns; ſo that abſtracting from the deepneſs of the Soil, and the ſharpneſs of the Winter, as it afterwards proved, unleſs we had been full as carefully ſupplied with Neceſſaries as ever we had been formerly, the whole Deſign had been ſtill in hazard, beſides the loſs of Time and Treaſure.

And

October 1691.

And though we had paſſed the River; yet we were ſtill as far from entring the Town as ever. What might have been done ſome time before, I am no competent Judge of; but ſince the *Iriſh* had it ſtill in their Power to give us the Town, or keep it to themſelves, I ſee no Reaſon why they ought not to make a Bargain for it, and expect the performance of their Contract, which Their Majeſties have been graciouſly pleaſed to ratifie under the Great Seal of *England*.

It may rationally be here demanded, why the *Iriſh* would treat with us for the Town, ſince they had full as many Foot within as we had in our Army without; and and notwithſtanding all the Stories told us by Deſerters about the ſcarcity of Proviſions, they had a quantity of the fineſt *French* Biſket I ever taſted, ſufficient for the whole Garriſon for two Months; ſome of which I ſaw; and Commiſſary-General *Aſpole* aſſured my ſelf and ſome other Friends, that they had the reſt: Upon which I asked him the reaſon of giving us the Town? And his Reply was, That if they had been driven by neceſſity to yield, they muſt then have accepted what Terms we had pleaſed to give them; but ſince they were not, they had ſtood upon ſuch as were for the Advantage of their whole Party. But the Truth of it is, the *Iriſh* were either weary of the War, or jealous of one another, or it may be both; it being no ill Policy on our ſide to foment their differences, and make their private Quarrels advance our Publick Service. And as for what happen'd at this Juncture, it's certain that the *French* Lieutenant-Generals were jealous of the *Iriſh* betraying, or, at leaſt, forſaking them: And 'tis without queſtion they uſed their Intereſt, in perſuading the *Iriſh* to hold out till Relief came; for they knew, conſidering all things, it had been very improper for us to endeavour the forcing the Town by a Breach. But I imagine Monſieur *D'Uſſone*'s Caſe

now

October, 1691.

now was much the same, as that of *Don John de Aquila* at *Kinsale*, in the Year, 1601. who finding the Town was like to be lost; and that instead of conquering a Kingdom, his Men and himself were like to become a Prey to the Enemy: He then desires a parley with the Lord-Deputy, wherein he mentions, that having found his Lordship, though a sharp and powerful Antagonist, yet an honourable and generous Enemy; and the *Irish* not only weak and barbarous, but (as he feared) perfidious Friends, he therefore desired to depart upon such Terms, befitting such Men of War, as are not by necessity enforced to receive Conditions, but willingly induced for just Respects to disengage themselves, and to relinquish a People by whom their King and Master had been so notoriously abused, if not betray'd. *Pacata Hib. p.* 241. And its probable, that upon some such Motives as those, Monsieur *D' Usson* consented to the *Irish* Capitulations, though we heard afterwards that the *French* King was so far from thanking him for it, that after some publick *Indignities* he sent him to the *Bastile*.

I humbly therefore am of Opinion, that the Lords-Justices and the General did nothing in this Affair without Command, or, at least, Instructions from Their Majesties; and that it was neither inconsistent with the Rules of Prudence or Policy, to grant the *Irish* what Terms they did, which for the future may help to moderate the Passions of some sort of People.

Nor were the Lords-Justices Proclamations for the bringing in of the Rapparees and others, not included in the Articles less seasonable, since by this means the Kingdom became so calm and quiet all on a sudden, that within one Fortnight after our Army was removed from *Limerick*, a Man might have travelled alone through that whole Kingdom, and that with as great Safety as through any part of *England*; but if this had been delayed, and the reducing those

thoſe Scamperers attempted altogether by force, pray let it be remembred how ſecurely the *Banditto's* of *Italy* have lived between the Power of the King of *Spain*, and that of the Pope, and how many Men in all Countries have proſpered in doing miſchief; but eſpecially in *Ireland* where there are ſo many Difficulties to march an Army, and the *Iriſh* ſo well acquainted with the Boggs and other Faſtneſſes, that it is impoſſible to beat them ſooner out of one place than they'll out-ſtrip you to another, being by conſtant practice extremely well skilled in making uſe of thoſe Advantages; but the aforeſaid Articles, and Proclamations have remedied all thoſe Inconveniences, and that Kingdom never enjoyed a more profound Peace than at preſent, ſince every Inſurrection when it is ſubdued, makes an Addition to the Power of the Government. *November* 1691.

But I'm afraid a good Cauſe may ſuffer by ill management; and therefore as to my buſineſs. Towards the latter end of *October*, we had an Account of his Majeſty's ſafe Arrival in *England* from *Flanders*, and that the *Engliſh* Parliament met on the 22*d.* according to their Prorogation.

November the firſt, all the *Iriſh* march out of the *Engliſh* Town of *Limerick*, and our Men take poſſeſſion of it. A great many of the *Iriſh* were ſhipp'd in the River, ſome on Board the *French* Fleet, and others in ſome of our Tranſport-Ships: The number ſhipp'd in the River, and that march'd towards *Cork* this laſt time, is ſaid to be 5650. But thoſe that march'd by Land, ſeveral of them deſerted upon the Road, notwithſtanding the care of the *Iriſh* Officers to ſecure them; for they begun to be ſenſible of the kind Treatment of thoſe that were already returned home, and were ſorry to quit a Country they ſaw already ſo peaceable. The *Roſe* of *Cheſter* going down the *Shannon* with 120 *Iriſh* on Board, was overſet amongſt the Rocks, and all the *Iriſh* drowned tho' the Seamen were moſt of them ſaved. The *French* Lieutenant-General took this very ill, The laſt of the *Iriſh* quit the *Engliſh* Town. 120 of them drowned.

November 1691.

as if done on purpoſe by the Maſter, and would needs have him tried for his Life for it; but it appearing to be a perfect Accident, he was ſatisfied.

Their Horſe ſhipt at *Cork*.

And now the *Iriſh* Horſe, as many as were left, were ſhipp'd off at *Cork*, and with them *Daniel Butts*, Eſq; Deputy Commiſſary-General of the *Daniſh* Forces, to receive their Bills of Exchange, and to ſee the Tranſport-Ships returned.

The General goes to *Dublin*.

November the 3*d*. the General came from *Kilkenny* to *Dublin*, being met and complemented on the Road by the Nobility, Judges and Gentry, Col. *Byerley*'s Horſe, and the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Foot, with the City-Militia, both Horſe and Foot, being in Arms to receive him. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Citizens being all in their Formalities, the Canons diſcharged ſeveral times, and all the Demonſtrations of Joy that could be made upon ſuch an extraordinary Occaſion.

Next Morning His Excellency was waited upon by the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and the other Citizens, the Recorder *Tho. Coote*, Eſq; in the Name of the City making a Speech to this effect.

The Recorder's Speech to him.

That the City throughly ſenſible of the Dangers that lately threatned them from an implacable Enemy, that aimed at nothing leſs than the total Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, and *Engliſh* Intereſt in this Kingdom to the tyrannical and ſlaviſh Government of the *French* King. And finding themſelves by your Excellencies Courage and Conduct, not only delivered from thoſe their juſt Fears, but placed in view of a laſting Peace and Security. And being zealous to expreſs as much of their Gratitude as their preſent Circumſtances will permit, they are unanimouſly come to congratulate your Excellency on your great Succeſs; and to aſſure your Excellency, that tho' they have many Grievances to place to the Account of that Enemy you have ſo glorioufly ſubdued; yet there are none they reſent

ſent more, than the having rendered them unable to raiſe to your Excellencies Memory thoſe Monuments your Merits and their Obligations challenge; yet what will be wanting in Braſs and Marble, they will endeavour to make up by their perpetual Applications to ſerve your Excellency. And ſhou'd the reſt of the World be ſo far ungrateful, as to forget what your Excellency has done for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and publick Liberty of *Europe*, this City will, while one ſtone ſtands upon another in it, perpetuate to Poſterity the glorious Actions you have performed this Campaign. *November* 1691

To which the General made return, that he was extremely ſenſible of the Honours and Kindneſs the City had tendred him, which he would upon all occaſions acknowledge.

Next Day, being the Anniverſary of His Majeſty's Birth, it was obſerved with all the Splendour and Greatneſs imaginable, my Lord Juſtice *Conningsby* entertaining the General with moſt of the Nobility at the Caſtle of *Dublin*. And the Day following being Gun-Powder Treaſon, had its uſual Obſervations; where, at the end of the Service appointed for the Day, the Baron *de Ronſill*, a *Flemiſh* Lord, who has lived theſe five or ſix years paſt in this Kingdom, made a ſolemn Renunciation of the *Romiſh*, and Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and was received at *Chriſt-Church* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*. After Sermon, the General and State being entertained by my Lord Chancellor *Porter*, the Night concluding with Bone-fires, and other Demonſtrations of Joy.

An Order was directed to *Abraham Tarner*, Eſq; Commiſſary-General of the Muſters, to take a Muſter of all their Majeſties Forces, both *Engliſh* and Foreign, now in their Majeſties Pay in this Kingdom, dated *Novemb. 5th.* by which Muſter all their Accounts were to be ſtated, and ſatisfaction Orders for Muſtering our Army.

November 1691.

given them for their Arrears of Pay due to them since their first coming into that Countrey. *November* the 9*th*, Major General *Talmash* who had full Power and Authority to transact all things necessary for the Transporting the *Irish*, and now having seen them all from *Limerick*, and the Town put into as good a Condition as the shortness of the time would allow, he left the place and went to *Dublin*, and from thence to *England*, Lieutenant General *Mackay* being ship'd off some Days before.

Major General *Talmash* leaves *Limerick*.

Orders for the *Danes* to Ship off.

And now greatest part of Their Majesties Forces in this Kingdom being at liberty to be imployed elsewhere, as there was occasion, and His Majesty giving directions to that purpose, the General sent the following Letter.

To the Duke of Wirtenberg *Commander in Chief of the* Danish *Forces.*

'HAving received His Majesties directions for the 'Embarking with the first opportunity the *Danish* 'Forces employed in Their Service, within this Kingdom, 'under your Grace's Command, I desire that your Grace 'will please to cause the several Battalions of Foot of the 'said Forces to March forthwith from their respective 'Quarters to *Cork* and *Kinsale*, and Embark there upon 'such Ships of War, and Vessels of Burden, as shall be ap- 'pointed to take them on Board, and Sail with them for 'the *Downs*, where they will receive further Orders from 'Their Majesties as to their Transportation to *Ostend*: 'And of this your Grace will please not to fail. Given 'at the Castle of *Dublin* the 10*th*. of *November*, 1691.

Bar. *de Ginckell.*

Novem-

November the 16*th*, my Lord *Lisburn*'s and my Lord *Drogheda*'s Regiments March'd from *Limerick*, lying Encamp'd without the Town ever ſince the Army left that place, the former went towards *Roſs*, and the other towards the North, the poor Men enduring a great deal of Hunger and Hardſhip in ſo long a March. *November* 1691.

November the 21*ſt*, Colonel *Byerley*'s and Colonel *Boucour*'s Regiments of Horſe were Ship'd off at *Dublin* for *England*, and near this time Colonel *Gordon O Neal*'s, and Colonel *Phelim O Neal*'s Regiments being Encamp'd in the County of *Kerry*, as part of the *Iriſh* deſigned for *France*, they came over to our ſide, as ſeveral others did daily, being every Day more and more ſatisfied with the Indulgence of the Government towards them.

The 23*d* the *Barbadoes* and *Virginia* Fleets which came in *Auguſt* and *September* laſt, Sailed from *Kinſale* for *England*, under the Convoy of Twelve Men of War, but whether they wanted a Wind all this while, (which ſeldom happens in that Countrey,) or that they now took this opportunity of a Ceſſation, others are more Competent Judges than I ſhall pretend to. Colonel *Brewer*'s and Colonel *Herbert*'s Regiments March'd from *Galway* to *Kinſale* there to be Embarked. And Two *French* Men of War, with ſome of their Ships of Burden, and the laſt of our Tranſport Ships in the River, being in all Thirty Sail, went thence for *France*.

November the 25*th*, An Order was Signed for the Demoliſhing the Fortifications at *Mullingar* and *Ballymore*, the *Iriſh* Souldiers Quartered in the Neighbouring Garriſons being ordered to aſſiſt when required. And ſeveral Complaints being made to the Lords Juſtices, and the General, of the Irregular and Arbitrary Proceedings of ſome Officers and Souldiers in their Quarters, another Order was Fortifications at *Mullingar* and *Ballymore* demoliſhed.

November 1691 was Signed for the holding frequent Court-Martials at *Limerick*, *Galway*, and *Athlone*, for the Redreſſing of ſuch Inconveniencies, and ſatisfying the Parties aggrieved.

Another Order was likewiſe Signed to break Six of the youngeſt Troops of Colonel *Woolſley*'s Regiment, according to directions from *England*.

The 28*th*. Col. *Hales*'s Regiment of Foot, and Col. *Langſton*'s Horſe came to *Dublin* in order to be ſhipp'd for *England*: And now the *Danes* are got to *Cork* and *Kinſale* to be embarked alſo, according to the former Order ſent to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*. In their March they committed ſome Irregularities, knowing they were to leave the Kingdom without hopes of ever ſeeing of it more; tho', to do them Juſtice, they behaved themſelves more mildly than Northern Soldiers generally do; eſpecially at their going off, who often prove the Ruine of that Country who employ them. And towards the Cloſe of this Month, ſome Ships arrive from *England* at *Sligo* with Supplies of Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries very much wanted before in that part of the Country.

December, 1691. Tueſday, *December* the 1*ſt*. Colonel *Monopovillon*'s Regiment of Horſe came to *Dublin*; and on the 3*d*. Colonel *Hales*'s Regiment ſet ſail for the North of *England*.

The Lords Juſtices, and the General, being ſenſible that both the Country and the Souldiers were at a loſs, by reaſon a good part of the Money deſigned for the Armies Subſiſtence, was forced to be given to the *Danes*, the *Iriſh*, and other Publick Uſes; they therefore Order a Proclamation to be Publiſhed to the effect following.

Charles

Charles Porter, Tho. Coningesby, *Baron* De Ginckel.

A Proclamation.

WHereas there are ſeveral Sums due from the Army to Perſons in this Kingdom, for their Subſiſtence in their Quarters, as alſo from the ſaid Perſons to Their Majeſties for Exciſe, and other Branches of the Revenue, which Debts or Arrears the ſaid Perſons are not able to pay, by reaſon of the Debts due to them from the Army; We do therefore require and authorize the ſeveral Collectors of Their Majeſties Revenue, to give Diſcharges to all ſuch Perſons as are indebted to Their Majeſties upon any Branch of the Revenue, or to their Aſſigns, for ſo much of their Arrears reſpectively as ſhall be equal to the Sums hereafter certified to them by the Commiſſioners of Their Majeſties Revenue, to be deducted and ſtopt for the ſaid Perſons from the Pay of the Army: And We do hereby direct the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Accounts of the Army, to tranſmit Certificates to the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Revenue, of all ſuch Sums as they have ſtopt, or ſhall ſtop from the Pay of the Army, writing therein each Perſon's Name and Place of Abode, for whom any part of the ſaid Deductions have been made, and particular Sums ſtopt for him: And for ſo doing, this ſhall be to the ſaid Collectors a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge on their Accounts, as alſo to the

the ſaid Commiſſioners appointed for ſtating the Accounts of the Army, a ſufficient Warrant.

December 1691.

Given at Their Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Third of *December* 1691.

By Command of the Lords-Juſtices, and the Commander in Chief of Their Majeſties Forces.

Geo. Clarke.

The General goes for *England.*

December the 5th. Lieut. General *Ginckel*, being accompanied with the Lords Juſtices, and moſt of the Nobility and Gentry in and about *Dublin*, went to *Ringsend*, and there taking leave, he went on board the *Monmouth*-Yacht, which ſailed next Morning for *England*.

The Tranſport-Ships return from *France.*

The 6th. ſeveral of the Tranſport-Ships that went with the firſt of the *Iriſh* Forces to *France*, returned to *Cork*, having Landed the Men at *Breſt*; and the Week following about Twenty more came back to *Dublin*; they all ſpoke well of the *French* Treatment of them in accommodating them with ſeveral Neceſſaries which they extreamly wanted; but that the *Iriſh* did not find themſelves ſo very welcome as they expected to have been; though at their Landing an Expreſs was ſent to the late King to St. *Germains*, to give him an Account of it; he ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with their coming, and ſent the following Letter to Lieut. General *Sheldon*, then the Officer in Chief with the *Iriſh*.

James

November. 1691.

JAMES *Rex.*

HAving been informed of the Capitulation and Surrender of Limerick, *and of the other Places which Remained to us in our Kingdom of* Ireland; *and of the neceſſities which forced the Lords Juſtices, and the General Officers of our Forces thereunto: We will not defer to let you know, and the reſt of the Officers that came along with you, that we are extreamly Satisfied with your and their Conduct, and of the Valour of the Souldiers during the Siege, but moſt Particularly, of your and their Declaration and Reſolution to come and Serve where we are: And we aſſure you, and Order you, to aſſure both Officers and Souldiers that are come along with you, that we ſhall never forget this Act of Loyalty, nor fail, when in a Capacity, to give them, above others, Particular Marks of our Favour. In the mean time, you are to Inform them, that they are to Serve under our Command, and by our Commiſſions; and if we find that a Conſiderable number is come with the Fleet, it will induce Us to go Perſonally to ſee them, and Regiment them; Our Brother the King of* France, *hath already given Orders to Cloath them, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries, and to give them Quarters of Refreſhment: So We bid you heartily Farewell.*

King *James's* Letter to the *Iriſh.*

Given at Our Court at St. *Germaine* the 27*th.* of *November*, 1691.

But how good ſoever the Late King's Intentions towards his *Iriſh* might be, yet it was, and is, the *French* King who Orders every thing in his own Dominions as he Pleaſes; nor had the *French* any good opinion of the *Iriſh* at their Landing, as appeared by the *Quarters of Refreſhment* aſſigned them, which were at firſt only the Lanes and Hedges about *Breſt*, not admitting any of them into the City; and at the ſame time this Letter was

Their Reception in France.

November. 1691. ſent from the Late King, there came Orders from his Brother of *France*, to Reduce all or moſt of the *Iriſh* Officers, the Colonels to Captains, and the Captains to Lieutenants, and Enſigns and the Subalterns, to Sergeants or private Centinels; and no wonder, for, what ever the *Iriſh* might hope for before their departure, yet it was very improbable, that they, who only were put into ſuch Poſts in *Ireland* upon point of neceſſity, becauſe they could get no better, ſhould be continued ſo in *France*, which is one of the moſt Warlike and Refin'd Nations in the World; however, this ill Treatment (as the *Iriſh* took it to be) did ſo exaſperate them, that ſeveral would gladly have returned into *Ireland*, and offered largely for their Paſſage, but were prevented by the ſtrict Guards that were ſet upon them: But they wrote to ſeveral of their Friends in *Ireland*, giving an Account of their ſevere uſage, which made ſeveral Deſert from my Lord *Lucan* that were not as yet gone, as more would have done, had he not ſoon after this Advice put them on Ship-Board.

One of thoſe Letters ſent from *France* after their firſt Landing; ſince it gives a full Account of their Reception and Uſage, I think it worth my Pains to Tranſcribe.

SIR,

NEver People that left their All, to come hither to Serve, were ſo meanly received, as thoſe miſerable Iriſh *were here; they have been much longer than neceſſary in Diſimbarking them, and will be at leaſt Three days more, though the* Intendant *has been preſſed with great earneſtneſs to take them a Shoar; when they are Landed they lye in the Fields a Night or two at leaſt, before they are ſent into their Quarters, and then they get neither Money nor Cloaths, and but little of any thing elſe. The Major*

Major Generals are made Colonels, the Colonels Captains, the Majors Lieutenants, and the Captains Serjeants, and many of them but Private Men, inſomuch, that as I paſs along the Streets, the Souldiers wiſh they had died in Ireland *before they came here, and many of the Officers expreſs themſelves to the ſame purpoſe, and are extreamly dejected and melancholly; ſome of them hope this will be Regulated, tho' I ſee no great reaſon for it, for this day there came a frivolous Complaint againſt ſome of Colonel* Nugent's *Men, and the* Intendant *threatned to break him for it; and I do not doubt but he'll be as good as his word in a ſhort time. For upon all occaſions he uſes their Officers with the greateſt Inſolence and Contempt imaginable. Some of them having complained and told him they hoped to have been advanced here, rather than thus reform'd; he told them, if they did not like it, they might go back, the Ships were in the Harbour that brought them; tho' at the ſame time the Owners on Board the Tranſport Ships were ordered not to take any of them on Board again, upon pain of Death. This is all matter of Fact, and a great deal more ſuch uſages they meet with, too tedious to relate, &c.* November. 1691.

This News ſpreading abroad in the Country, on *Tueſday* the 8*th* of *December* Colonel *Mackdermot*'s and Colonel *Brian Oneal*'s Regiments, and a day or two after, Colonel *Fælix Oneal*'s, who were part of the *Iriſh* Forces deſigned for *France*, they quitted their deſign, and refuſed to go on Board, returning to *Clare*, where ſome of them delivered up their Arms to Colonel *Tiffin*, and went homewards, in order to their living peaceably in the Country, and the reſt were ſubſiſted as the other *Iriſh* Forces were. *Several deſert that were not yet Shipt off.*

Thoſe that were now Embarquing had not much better uſage on this ſide the Water, for a great many of *The Iriſh ſeverely dealt withal at their Embarquing.*

December. 1691. of them having Wives and Children, they made what ſhift they cou'd to deſert, rather than leave their Families behind to ſtarve, which my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Waughop* perceiving, they Publiſh a Declaration, *That as many of the* Iriſh *as had a mind to't, ſhould have Liberty to Tranſport their Families along with themſelves.* And accordingly a vaſt Rabble of all ſorts were brought to the Water-ſide, when the Major General, pretending to Ship the Souldiers in order, according to their Liſts, they firſt carried all the Men on Board, and many of the Women, at the ſecond return of the Boat for the Officers, catching hold to be carried on Board, were dragged off, and through fearfulneſs, loſing their hold, were drowned; but others who held faſter had their fingers cut off, and ſo periſhed in ſight of their Huſbands, or Relations, tho' thoſe of them that did get over wou'd make but a ſad Figure, if they were admitted to go to the late Queen's Court at St. *Germaine.*

The Sheriffs for the ſeveral Counties in *Ireland* were prick'd, and the ſame day all the *Iriſh* Priſoners that were in *Newgate* in *Dublin*, were releaſed; and my Lord *Lucan* finding that he had Ships enough for all the *Iriſh* that were like to go with him, the Number that went before, and theſe Shipt at this time, being according to the beſt computation about 12000 of all ſorts, he Signs the following Releaſement.

My Lord Lucan's Releaſe to the General.

WHereas, *by the Articles of* Limerick, *Lieutenant General* Ginckell, *Commander in Chief of the* Engliſh *Army, did engage himſelf to furniſh ten thouſand Tun of Shipping for the Tranſporting of ſuch of the* Iriſh *Forces to* France, *as were willing to go thither; and to facilitate their paſſage, to add four thouſand Tun more in caſe the* French *Fleet did not come to this Kingdom to take off part of thoſe Forces; and whereas the* French *Fleet*

Fleet has been upon the Coaſt, and carried away ſome of the ſaid Forces, and the Lieutenant General has provided Ships for as many of the reſt as are willing to go as aforeſaid. I do hereby delare that the ſaid Lieutenant General is releaſed from any Obligation he lay under from the ſaid Articles, to provide Veſſels for that purpoſe; and do quit and renounce all farther Claim and Pretenſion on this Account, &c. Witneſs my Hand, this 8th *of* December, 1691. December. 1691.

Witneſſes,

Mark Talbot. Lucan.
F. H. de la Foreſt
Suſannel.

December the 20*th*, Colonel *Langſton's*, and Colonel *Monopouillon's* Horſe, and the Prince of *Heſs's* Foot Shipp'd at *Dublin*, for *England*; and Colonel *Neuhewſon's* Horſe, and the *Brandenburgh* Foot march'd into *Dublin*. The 22*d* my Lord *Lucan*, and the reſt of the *Iriſh* Great Officers went on Board the Tranſport Ships, leaving Hoſtages at *Cork* for the return of the ſaid Ships. And at the ſame time, Colonel *Haſting's*, Sir *David Collier's*, Colonel *Brewer's*, and Colonel *Herbert's* Regiments were Shipp'd for *England*; the Government taking all poſſible Care to Diſcharge the Kingdom of both Armies, who had already brought it into a very low Condition. *All the* Iriſh *go off, except the Hoſtages.*

December the 24*th*, an Order was given out to the Comiſſary General of the Muſters, or his Deputies, to take an exact Muſter of all the *Iriſh* Forces now in Arms, that had come over to our ſide ſince the beginning of the Truce at *Limerick*, and they had Quarters allotted them in ſeveral places of the Kingdom; but behaved themſelves after their uſual rate; for *An Order for Muſtering all the* Iriſh *that came over to us.*

December. 1691. for tho' they had Changed their King, yet not their Cuſtoms; for they Taxed the People where they Quartered, as they pleaſed themſelves; Impriſon'd ſeveral, and Releaſed others as they ſaw good; forced the Markets, and did a great many other Illegal Tricks: Inſomuch, that Complaint being made to the Lords Juſtices of thoſe Diſorders, they writ a Letter to my Lord *Kingſton*, *December* 31. Deſiring his Lordſhip to do them, the Country, and His Majeſty what Service he cou'd, in ſuppreſſing thoſe Irregularities, and to have the Court Martials that were Ordered in ſeveral Places, put in Execution.

The Irish very unruly in their Quarters.

The Marching-Hoſpital broke.

January the 6*th*, there being no further uſe of a Marching Hoſpital in this Kingdom, and the ſame being expenſive to the Government, an Order was given out for the diſcharging ſeveral Phyſicians, and others, that attended on the ſame. And now Their Majeſties Pleaſure being known about the *Iriſh*, Orders and Inſtructions were directed to Colonel *Foulk*, Colonel St. *John*, and Brigadeer *Villers*, to view and diſcharge all the *Iriſh* Forces, except 1400 Choice Men, the form of their Commiſſions for it, ran thus.

By the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*.

Orders, and Inſtructions for breaking the Iriſh *Forces.*

WHEREAS Their Majeſties are pleaſed to Direct, that there be an immediate Regulation of ſuch of the Regiments, whether Horſe, Foot, or Dragoons, of the late Iriſh *Army as came in, and ſubmitted to Their Obedience. And We being well aſſured of the Care, Diligence, and Circumſpection, as well as of the Loyalty, and Readineſs of Colonel* John Foulks *to do Their Majeſties good and faithful Service, do hereby appoint him to make the ſaid Regulation, and Reform*, &c.

The

The *Iriſh* being by the ſaid Inſtrument commanded to obey him, and our own Troops and Militia to obſerve his Directions in their Marching from place to place, as he ſaw occaſion. The ſaid Colonel *Foulk* and the other Officers aforeſaid, had Directions to aſſure the *Iriſh*, both Officers and Souldiers, of Their Majeſties Gracious Diſpoſition towards them, tho' the preſent State of their Affairs wou'd not admit of any more than 1400 Men to be employed at this time, and thoſe to be divided into two Battalions, Commanded by Colonel *Wilſon* and *Balderock O Donnel*. And that the Officers that were not willing to go home, might attend thoſe two Battalions, where they wou'd have Subſiſtance till better provided for. As for thoſe that returned to their Habitations, and deſired to live peaceably at home, if they were Souldiers, and had their Arms, nine Shillings a piece was ordered them; but if without Arms, they had ſix Shillings. The Officers had a Fortnights Subſiſtence each, to bear their Charges home. Theſe Orders and Inſtructions bore Date the 11*th* and 12*th* of *January*, purſuant to which, as ſoon as it cou'd conveniently be done, Colonel *Wilſon*'s, Colonel *O Ryley*'s, Colonel *Nugent*'s, Lord *Iveigh*'s, Lord *Dillon*'s, Colonel *Cormack Oneal*'s, Colonel *Fælix Oneal*'s, Colonel *Geoghagan*'s, Colonel *O Donnel*'s, Colonel *Rourk*'s, Colonel *Oxborough*'s, Colonel *Lutteril*'s Horſe; Colonel *Tho. Burk*'s Troop of Horſe, Sir Colonel *John Burk*'s Troop Briggadier *Clifford*'s Draggoons, Colonel *Mackgenni*'s Dragoons, were all broke by Colonel *Foulk*. In *Munſter* alſo Colonel *Corbet*'s Horſe were broke by Brigadier *Villers*. And Colonel *Mackdermot*'s Foot, Colonel *Bryan Oneal*'s, Colonel *Rob. Purcel*'s, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cahan*'s were broke by Colonel St. *Johns*, only two Battalions being drawn out of the whole, as is ſaid, and had Quarters aſſigned them in the Barrony of *Muskerry*.

January. 1692.

January. 1692. *Muskerry.* Theſe *Iriſh* had the Name of a great many Regiments, but ſcarce an hundred Men in each, one with another, for they were thin at beſt; and ſeveral of them were gone into *France*, having the Names of Regiments there alſo. But after ſome time, all the *Iriſh* not laying down their Arms, an Order was directed to Sir *Francis Hambleton*, Governour of *Donegal*, to break ſome of *O Donnel*'s Men then in that Country, which was done accordingly.

There hapned about this time two Violent Flaſhes of Lightning and Claps of Thunder at *Kinſale*; by the latter of which the *Portſmouth* Frigart ſuffered great damage, having her Main Top and Main Yard broke to pieces, and the Main Maſt ſplit for twelve foot downwards, breaking throw the Larboard ſide of the Ship twelve foot in length, and did ſome other miſchief, tho only one Man was hurt by it.

Nigh the ſame time the Officers belonging to the Train of Artillery. The Waggoners and others of that Society were broke, as being no farther uſeful in this Kingdom. And

The Oaths taken according to the new Act of Parliament. *January* 23, being the firſt day of the Term, the Lords Juſtices came to the Court of *King's-Bench*, and there took the Oaths to Their Majeſties, and Subſcribed the Declaration required by the late Act of Parliament in *England*, as did alſo ſeveral of the Nobility: Whence the Lord Chancellor returned to his High Court of Chancery, where the Judges of the ſeveral Courts, Maſters of Chancery, King's Councel, the Lawyers, and ſeveral other Perſons of different Qualities, and Imployments, took the preſcribed Oaths, *&c.* For the Act of Parliament being Reprinted at *Dublin*, and ſpread abroad by the Lords Juſtices Order, and requiring all Perſons whatever, in any Imployment, within Thirty Miles of that City, to take the ſaid Oath, and ſubſcribe

ſcribe the Declaration before the end of *Hillary* Term, and no exception being made, or excuſe allowed for Men's being Sick, or otherwiſe diſabled, ſeveral were brought up to Town with great difficulty, and the Courts daily throng'd, 'till the Term was over. *January.* 1692.

Great quantities of Wheat, and other Grain, were ordered from *Cork*, and *Kingſale*, to furniſh the Stores of *Limerick*, that part of the Countrey being now very much put to it for want of Bread, as being the ſeat of War this two years paſt. The 25*th* Colonel *Mathew*'s Dragoons were Shipp'd at *Belfaſt*, as Sir *John Lanier*'s Horſe had been ſome time before; and on the 27*th*, my Lord *Portland*'s Horſe were Shipp'd at *Paſſage*, near *Waterford*.

A Declaration was Publiſh'd by the Lords Juſtices, 'forbidding any Officer, Clerk, or other Perſon whatever, belonging to, imploy'd in, or depending on their 'Majeſties Treaſury, either by himſelf, or any other, 'directly, or indirectly, to buy any Arrears, or Debenters due to any Officer, or Souldier, or any other Perſons who have been imploy'd in Their Majeſties Service during this preſent War, upon pain of loſing the 'benefit of ſuch Contract, or Agreement, as alſo of 'being diſmiſſed their Imployments, and of being declared uncapable of being Imployed in the Treaſury for 'the future: The buying of ſuch Debenters being adjudged diſhonourable to Their Majeſties Service, and 'Government, and to the loſs of the perſons to whom the 'ſame are payable. *A Declaration, forbidding the buying Debenters, or Arrears*

And nigh the ſame time, another Order was ſent out, Commanding all Colonels, and others in Their 'Majeſties Army, who had entertain'd any *Iriſh* in their reſpective Regiments, Troops, or Companies, forthwith to diſmiſs them, and not to keep any one *Iriſh* *Another Order to turn out all the Iriſh Papiſts out of our Regiments.*

January. 1692. 'Papiſt under their Command, upon pain of having 'ſuch Regiments broke, where any ſuch were found.

A great Froſt began *January* the 19*th*, and is now ſo violent, that Multitudes of the poor People, (and eſpecially of the *Iriſh*) periſh for Cold: The Lords Juſtices, and Council, very Charitably order all the Poor then in and about the City of *Dublin*, to be taken up, and put into ſeveral Convenient Houſes, being in all 640 odd, who were provided for with Meat, and Fire; without which Care, ſeveral hundreds muſt have periſhed in the Streets: And yet a great many of them had been ſo uſed to that Trade of Begging, that the being provided for with Neceſſaries, and Confin'd to a Place, was uneaſie to them; ſo that ſeveral ſtole out, and fell to Begging again. But this Charitable Care was not taken in other parts of the Kingdom; ſo that a Man might every where ſee a great many Objects of Pity, and Miſery, and they continue ſo to this very day.

Some time before this, the *Danes* were Shipp'd, as is ſaid, having four Men of War, and 46 other Veſſels to Tranſport them; but being driven back by contrary Winds, and kept in the Harbour by ſtreſs of weather, a new ſupply of Proviſions was Ordered them. Two Proclamations were Publiſh'd at *Dublin*; one Com-'manding all Perſons that were not qualified by the 'Articles of *Limerick*, and *Galway*, (which were Noble-Men, and Gentlemen, who were Houſe-keepers, and have Eſtates of Freehold, of one Hundred Pounds a year; which by the ſaid Proclamation was declared to be the qualification of the Perſons Compriz'd in the 'ſaid Articles.) to deliver up their Arms of all ſorts, be-'fore the Tenth of *March*, and if they failed therein, to 'be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity of Law. And 'whoſoever ſhou'd diſcover any Fire Arms ſo detain'd,

after

'after the 10*th* of *March*, ſhou'd have Ten Shillings Re- *February.*
'ward, and Five Shillings for every diſcovery of other 1692.
'Arms, to be paid him by the Sheriff of the City, or
'Juſtice of the Peace, to whom ſuch Diſcovery ſhou'd
'be made; the ſame to be repaid by the Sheriff of the
'County, and allowed in his Accounts in the Exchequer.

'And the Perſons in whoſe Cuſtody ſuch Arms are
'found, ſhall loſe the benefit of the ſaid Articles, and
'be bound over to the next Aſſizes, or Seſſions which
'ſhall firſt happen. And all Perſons who had Arms be-
'fore the firſt day of *November* laſt, being not qualified
'to keep them, and ſhall not give a ſatisfactory Account
'how they have diſpoſed of them, ſhall be look'd upon
'as guilty of a Contempt againſt the ſaid Proclamation.
'And the Sheriffs of the reſpective Counties were to give
'an Account from time to time of what Arms were
'brought in to the Clerk of the Council, or his Deputy.
'And that all Perſons that were qualify'd to keep Arms,
'might wear the ſame, without being affronted, or
'have the ſame taken from them on any pretence; each
'Perſon was to apply himſelf to the Lords Juſtices for
'a Licenſe for that purpoſe, which was to be granted
'without any Fee or Reward whatever. Which Procla-
mation was to be publiſh'd three Market-days ſucceſs-
ſively, in each Town in *Ireland*, and then affixed.

Dated the 4*th* of *February*. 1691.

'The other Proclamation was to forbid all Juſtices of
'the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magiſtrates what-
'ever to preſume ſo far upon their Authority, as to
'meddle with the Property, Right, Title, or Poſſeſſion
'of the Eſtate or Goods of any of Their Majeſties Sub-
'jects, other than as by due Courſe of Law they are re-
'quired, or can juſtifie. By which Proclamation, ſome
of the *Iriſh* that had been wronged, were ſett o rights,

February. 1692. and ſatisfied; tho' they were not ſo forward in obeying the former, in delivering up their Arms, a very ſmall return being made through the whole Kingdom, they keeping as yet ſome thouſands of all ſorts of Arms ſtill concealed, which I hope will effectually be taken care of in time.

The weather was now ſo violent, that the *Adventure* of *London* was caſt away going to *Dublin*, and ſeveral other Ships loſt in and about that Bay. And the *Swallow*, one of Their Majeſties Ships, was forced a-ground nigh *Charles*-Fort at *Kingſale*, and there foundred, tho' all the Men were ſaved, except two.

February the 12*th*, *John Stone* Eſq; being dead, and Captain *South* imployed elſewhere in the Army, a new Commiſſion was granted, putting in their Places Colonel *Foulks*, and *William Palmer* Eſquires, Commiſſioners, for ſtating the Accounts of the Army. And nigh the ſame time, the Commiſſary General was ſent into *England*, with all the Muſter Rolls.

February 16. the weather breaking up, part of my Lord *Oxford*'s Horſe driven back by ſtreſs of weather, Lieutenant General *Ginckel*'s, and Major General *Ruvigney*'s Horſe, with the Princeſs *Anns* Foot, were all Shipp'd for *England*. The ſame day Lieutenant General *Scravemore* went on Board, as did Brigadier *Leveſon* in a day or two after. Colonel *Coy*'s Horſe alſo are Shipp'd off at *Belfaſt*, and the Gariſon of *Athlone*, that had been very uneaſie to the Officers and Souldiers all Winter, by reaſon they had no ſhelter, except ſome ſmall Hutts of their own making, was now relieved.

Arms and Ammunition ſent for England.

February the 20*th*, the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance had an Order directed to them, to ſend all the Stores of Amunition, and other Stores of War that cou'd be ſpared out of the Magazines for *England*, to be

be employed elſewhere in Their Majeſties Service; and accordingly a vaſt quantity of Arms and other Utenſils of War were Shipt off. *March.* 1692.

February 28, Captain *Townſend* of the Earl of *Meath*'s Regiment, took eight or ten *French* Men Priſoners, who had come a Shoar from a Privateer nigh *Caſtle-Haven*; and we had an Account from *England* that His Majeſty had Created Lieutenant General *Ginckel* Baron of *Aghrim*, and Earl of *Athlone*.

February 26, An Order was directed to Colonel *Foulk* to break my Lord *George Hambleton*'s Regiment which was done accordingly in ſome days after; 150 of the Men being ſent for *England*, and the reſt entertained in the Earl of *Drogheda*'s, Brigadier *Stuart*'s, Sir *Henry Balloſis*, and Colonel *Foulk*'s Regiments.

March the firſt, a *Paſs* was given out for a Ship to go to *France* with the Hoſtages left at *Cork*, and other ſick Officers and Souldiers, according to the Articles of *Limerick*. And on the third, another Order was granted to Colonel *Foulk* for the raiſing five Companies of 100 Men in each, of the *Iriſh*, all the ſubaltern Officers to be of thoſe Reformed in Colonel *Wilſon*'s and *O Donnel*'s Battalions; and the whole to be commanded by my Lord *Iveigh*, and employed in the Emperor's Service. And *March* the fifth, an Order was directed to Mr. *Foliot Sherigly*, chief Deputy Commiſſary, to Disband the Troop of *Provoes*, which was done accordingly.

The Hoſtages go from Cork *to* France.

March the 17*th*. Lieutenant-General *Ruvigny* Landed from *England*, being made Commander in chief of the Army left in *Ireland*, and Created by his Majeſty, Lord Viſcount *Galway*: and two days after, his Lordſhip and the Lord Viſcount *Bleſſington* were Sworn of Their Majeſties Privy Council, as the Biſhop of *Kildare* had been ſome time before.

Lieutenant General Ruvigny *lands in* Ireland.

And

1692. And *March* the 23*d.* the following Proclamation was Publiſhed, declaring the War of *Ireland* to be at an end.

WILLIAM REX.

A Proclamation declaring the War of Ireland *ended.*

WHEREAS by An Act made in Our Parliament at Weſtminſter, *in the Firſt Year of Our Reign, Intituled,* An Act for the better Security and Relief of Their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland, it was (among other things) Enacted, that all and every Perſon and Perſons whatſoever of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be abſolutely Diſcharged and Acquitted of, and from the Payment of all Quit-Rents, Crown-Rents, Compoſition-Rents, Hearth-Money, Twentieth Parts, Payments, and other Chief Rents ariſing or Payable out of any Houſes, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rectories, Tyths, or Church-Livings, incurring or becoming due to us at any time after the Five and Twentieth Day of* December *in the Year of Our Lord, One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty Eight, until the ſaid Kingdom of* Ireland *ſhou'd be by us declared to be reduced, and the War and Rebellion there ended. We have now, purſuant to the ſaid Act of Parliament, thought fit (by, and with the Advice of Our Privy Council) to Iſſue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby Declaring that the ſaid Kingdom of* Ireland *is reduced to Our Obedience, and the War and Rebellion there ended. And We do hereby Will and Require that all and Singular ſuch Rents and Payments, and all other Duties payable to the Crown, which ſhall henceforth grow, incur, and become due, be duely anſwered and payed to us in ſuch manner, and under ſuch Penalties and Forfeitures as if the ſaid Act had not been made.*

Given at Our Court at *Kenſington*, the Third Day of *March*, 1691. in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

God ſave the King and Queen.

After

March. 1692.

After which time little of moment happened, ſave that the Lords Juſtices, by Directions from Their Majeſties, appointed a time for thoſe that pretended to the Benefit of the Articles of *Limerick* or *Galway*, to give in their Names, and make good their claims by the 20*th* of *February*, which time was, by Proclamation, enlarged to the firſt of *April*, and afterwards to the 15*th*. *Wedneſday* the ſixth of *April* was appointed the firſt Day to begin upon thoſe Claims, all thoſe concerned being to enter their Names ſometime before, with the Clerk of the Council; which Names were to be poſted up, at leaſt, ten Days before their Cauſe was to be heard, their Claims being to be made out by at leaſt three Credible Witneſſes, one of which was to be a Proteſtant. Accordingly on the ſixth of *April* the Council met upon this Affair, and continued every *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*, ſo to do; which was a much eaſier way, and more to the Intereſt and Advantage of the *Iriſh*, than any Court of Claims erected only for that purpoſe, cou'd have been.

CHAP.

1692.

CHAP. XI.

A brief Account of the former and present Circumstances of Ireland. *The Division of it into Provinces and Counties, Bishopricks and Parishes. The Soil of* Ireland. *Sir* John Davis *his Reasons why* Ireland *was so long in being entirely subjected to the Crown of* England. *What* Tanistry *is. This a reason why the* Irish *did not improve their Country. Of Fosterings and Cosherings. A Brief Estimate of the Expence of the former Wars of* Ireland. *An Essay towards the reckoning the Charge of this last. The former evils still remain. The Interest of the King and People of* England *in general to advance the Power and Trade of the* English *in* Ireland. *The Interest also of the* Roman *Catholicks themselves, whether of* English *or* Irish *Extraction, to advance the Power of* England *in that Kingdom. Two main Objections answered. Religion in the first place to be taken care of. An Invasion from* France *upon that Kingdom,* England *or* Scotland, *at this juncture very improbable. A Remark upon the last that endeavour'd it.*

I Have now given you all that I know of this last unhappy *Irish* Wars, that is fit at this juncture to be sent to the Press. And it's more possibly than some Men will thank me for, or yet the following Remarks that I am going to make upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, and its present Circumstances; upon which, if any please to throw away another half Hour, tho' they find nothing worth taking notice of: Yet I hope they'll have no Reason to be angry, since Opinion in things indifferent is free to all Men: And

we

we have no better way to conjecture what may be hereafter, than by comparing our thoughts of it with what now is, and formerly has been. 1692.

The Circumference of Ireland.

Ireland, next to Great *Britain*, is the greateſt Iſland in *Europe*, eſteemed by Sir *William Petty* at Ten Millions Five Hundred Thouſand *Iriſh* Acres, and by others at Ten Millions Eight Hundred and Sixty Eight Thouſand Acres, which they reckon to be above 17 Millions of *Engliſh* Meaſure (121 *Iriſh* Acres making about 196 *Engliſh*) and yet Sir *William Petty* computes the *Iriſh* Acres to make not above 14 Millions of *Engliſh*; accounting nigh two Millions of Acres in Mountains, Bogs, Strands, and other unprofitable Land, a great part of which, however, is capable of improvement, and makes *Ireland* in circumference almoſt equal to *England*; *Wales* excepted.

The Latitude of *Ireland* North is ſaid to be parallel with *Dumfreſe* in *Scotland*; and South to St. *Michael's* Mount in *Cornwal*; its Longitude Weſt to the utmoſt point of *Ire Conaght* in the County of *Galway*; and Eaſt to the head of *Houth*.

Its Diviſion into Provinces and Counties.

The Kingdom for many Ages paſt has been divided into four Provinces, three of which before that Diviſion, were commonly diſtinct Monarchies, and ſometimes the fourth, which by degrees, as the *Engliſh* Intereſt prevailed, were ſubdivided into Counties, of which there are thirty two at this day in all the Kingdom. The Provinces are *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, *Conaght*, and *Ulſter*.

Leinſter has eleven Counties, *Dublin*, *Wicklow* and *Wexford* on the Sea-ſide, *Eaſt-Meath*, *Weſt-Meath*, and *Carlow* within Land (tho' with a corner reaching to the Sea,) *Kilkenny*, *Kildare*, *Kings-County*, *Queens-County* and *Longford*, are Inland Counties alſo.

Munſter has ſix Counties, two within Land, as *Tipperary* and *Limerick*; but *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Kerry*, and *Clare* all on the Coaſt.

1692. *Conaght* has *Galway*, *Mayo*, and *Sligo* towards the Sea, with *Roſcomon* and *Letrim* within Land.

Ulſter has ſix Counties on the Sea-ſide, *Fermanagh*, *Donegal*, *London-Derry*, *Antrim*, *Down*, and *Louth*; and four within Land, as *Cavan*, *Monohan*, *Armagh*, and *Tyrone*.

Into Arch-Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks. In the Year 1151, (according to *Cambden*) *Chriſtianus*, Biſhop of *Liſmore*, Legate of all *Ireland*; and *Johannes Paperon* Cardinal Prieſt (according to Sir *James Ware*) brought four Palls from *Eugenius* the third, and held a Synod, or Council, at *Kells*, as ſome ſay, or at *Melleſort*, according to others; whereat were preſent the Biſhops, Abbots, Kings, Captains, and Elders of *Ireland*, when by General conſent four Arch-Biſhopricks were Conſtituted, *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Caſhel*, and *Tuam*; under whom there were 34 other Biſhopricks, *viz.* ten ſubordinate to *Armagh*, five to *Dublin*, twelve to *Caſhel*, and ſeven to *Tuam*. But now they are reduced to 21 in all, and thoſe divided into 2278 Pariſhes, and thoſe in a political capacity have eight that are called Cities, *Dublin*, *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Caſhel*, *Clogher*, *Limerick*, and *London-Derry*; beſides about ninety Boroughs and Corporations.

The Soil of Ireland. As to the Natural Advantages of *Ireland*, many People can confirm what Sir *John Davis*, a Man of Wit, Learning, and Prudence, has writ ſeveral Years ago, *viz.* *That having been in all the Provinces of that Kingdom, he had obſerved the good Temperature of the Air, the fruitfulneſs of the Soil, the pleaſant and commodious Seats for Habitation, the ſafe and large Ports and Havens lying open for Traffick unto all the Weſt parts of the World, the long Inlets of many Navigable Rivers; and ſo many great Lakes, and freſh Ponds within Land, as the like are not to be ſeen in any part of* Europe; *the rich Fiſhings and Wild*

Wild Fowl of all Kinds. And laſtly, the Bodies and Minds of the People Endowed with extraordinary Abilities of Nature. 1692.

The Iriſh no ſuch Fools as the World Commonly makes them.

And however it has become a Proverb in *England*, to call a dull unthinking Fellow, a Man of an *Iriſh* Underſtanding, yet for any thing appears to the contrary, they have acted a Prudent part for at leaſt theſe Five Hundred Years; nor is their crafty inſinuating wheedling way as yet any thing abated; and whoſoever will look amongſt the Natives of that Countrey at this juncture, will probably find ſome Knaves, but as few Fools as in any other Kingdom of the World.

Sir John Davis *his Reaſons why* Ireland *has been ſo long in reducing to the Crown of* England.

But ſince I have mention'd ſo Judicious an Author, as Sir *John Davis*, I ſuppoſe it will not be unpleaſant to hear ſome of his Reaſons why it has been ſo long a time before *Ireland* was entirely ſubject to the Crown of *England*, and why the *Engliſh* were more apt to run into the *Iriſh* Barbarous Cuſtoms, and imitate their way of living, than on the Contrary: As to the firſt of theſe, he mentions four main defects of the Armies, that at different times were ſent out of *England*, to Conquer *Ireland*. 1. They were for the moſt part too weak for a Conqueſt. 2. When otherwiſe (as in both the Journies of *Richard* the Second,) they were too ſoon broken up, and diſſolved. 3. They were ill paid; and, 4. They were ill Govern'd; a neceſſary Conſequence of the former. Which Inconveniences happen'd, becauſe the King's of *England* for many Ages together were generally otherwiſe imploy'd; either in the Holy-Land, or in *France*, or in their Wars with *Scotland*, or elſe in that unhappy fewd between the two Houſes of *Lancaſter*, and *York*: So that they cou'd neither attend the *Iriſh* War in their own Perſons, nor ſpare a Competency either of Men, or Money, to compleat the Work, which was only begun in King *Henry* the Second's days,

1692. rather by a few private Adventurers, than by any thing that had the face of a Royal Army. And beſides, the ſtanding Forces were ſeldom or never reinforced out of *England* (that is in the times towards the beginning of the *Engliſh* Government) only the King's Treaſure there was ſpent, and wholly ſpent in the King's ſervice; ſo that in the Reigns of four ſucceſſive Kings, *Viz. Henry* III. *Edward* I. *Edward* II. and *Edward* III. between the Receipts and Allowances, this Entry is commonly found in the *Pipe-Rolls*, *In Theſauro nihil*; for the Affairs of the State, and thoſe of the Army ſpent *all*, and that *all* was not ſufficient. In the Reign therefore of King *Edward* II. *Maurice Fitz Thomas* Earl of *Deſmond*, as his Anceſtor was the firſt of *Engliſh* Race that took part with the *Iriſh* againſt his Native Country Men, he being now Commander in Chief of the Army againſt the *Scots* then Invading *Ireland*, he only changed the name of the Ancient *Iriſh* Cuſtom called *Bonaught*, but began to practice the thing it ſelf under the names of *Coigne* and *Livery* and *Pay*, that is, he and his Army took Horſe Meat, and Mans Meat, and alſo Money at their pleaſure, without any ſatisfaction, ſo much as of a Bill. And this afterwards proved the general fault of all the Chief Commanders in this Kingdom, for finding the advantage of this way of proceeding, they begun to oppreſs the Poor *Engliſh* heavily, who rather than endure it, would give them a part of their Land to have the reſt free, which Land ſo given the Lords put *Iriſh* Tenants upon, and incouraged them in ſeveral particulars, that ſo they might pay their Rent. And then the Kings of *England* not being at leiſure to attend the War in their own Perſons, they could do no leſs in Honour, than give a great part of the Land to thoſe that Conquered it. But thoſe Scopes of Land given at firſt to the *Engliſh* Adventurers were generally too large, and the Priviledges

viledges ſo great, that they begun to ſet up for themſelves, no fealty being reſerved to the Crown by the Tenants, but only to their Lords, which firſt made them Proud, and then Contentious. Upon which account to ſtrengthen their Parties, they Allyed themſelves with the *Iriſh*, and drew them in to dwell amongſt them, and not having *Engliſh* Tenants enough for their Lands, they were obliged to take *Iriſh*: By living amongſt whom, and having their Servants and Nurſes generally of ſuch; they, and their Children, by degrees became of the ſame ſtamp; and having no other means to pay or reward the *Iriſh* that were of their Faction, they ſuffered them to take *Coygne*, and *Livery* from the *Engliſh* Freeholders, which Oppreſſion was ſo intolerable, as that the better ſort were forced to quit their Free-holds, and flye into *England*, never returning more, though Laws were made in both Kingdoms to remand them, and the reſt that remained, ſoon became degenerate, and meer *Iriſh*. 1692.

Then the *Engliſh* Lords finding the *Iriſh* Exactions to be more profitable than the Engliſh Rents and Services, and loving the *Iriſh* Tyranny which was tied to no Rules of Law, or Honour, better than a juſt and lawful Seigniory, did reject and caſt off the Engliſh Laws and Government, and ſome with the Iriſh Cuſtoms aſſuming their very Names alſo; which Cuſtoms of theirs, were all Enemies to the Engliſh Intereſt in this Countrey. Whether it was that called *Taniſtry*, that is, when any of their Chieftains, or Heads of Factions died, then the Goods of the whole Sept or Family were to be divided a-new; nor did the Sons always ſucceed, but ſuch of the Kindred as could purchaſe the Election by ſtrong hand; by which, there cou'd be no encouragement, either to Build, or Plant, or indeed to have any thing but from hand to mouth, ſince

What Taniſtry *ſignifies.*

1692. ſince they knew not who might reap the fruits of their Labour. For tho' it's ſaid the *Iriſh* received the Chriſtian Faith above twelve hundred years ago, and were lovers of Muſick, Poetry, and all kinds of Learning; Poſſeſſing alſo a Countrey abounding with all things neceſſary for the life of Man, yet did they never build Houſes of Brick, or Stone, before the time of King *Henry* II. (ſome few poor Religious Houſes excepted) and when afterwards they ſaw the Engliſh build Caſtles, they only did it for their Chiefs, and not for themſelves; nor endeavoured they to imitate the Engliſh in any ſort of Improvements, which being againſt all common Senſe and Reaſon, muſt needs be imputed to their Cuſtoms, in making all their Poſſeſſions incertain, and wou'd have hindred the improvement of their Countrey to the Worlds end, if thoſe Cuſtoms had not been aboliſh'd by the Law of *England*.

Reaſons why the Iriſh did not improve their Countrey formerly.

Coſherings. The *Iriſh* had alſo *Coſherings*, *Viſitations*, and *Progreſſes* made by their Chief, and his Followers, among his Tenants. Seſſings for his Horſes, Dogs, and Boys; Cuttings, Tallages, and ſpendings at his pleaſure, which made him an abſolute Tyrant, and his Vaſſals poor Slaves. Add to theſe their *Foſterings*, the *Iriſh* of all People having the greateſt inclination to Nurſe other Mens Children, becauſe *Foſtering* amongſt them, is always reputed a ſtronger alliance than Blood; and when once they have Nurſed a Child in any Family, they think themſelves ſo near Related thereto, that they are obliged to perform whilſt they live, all the faithful Services in their Power, and from whence ever after they expect a Supply of what Neceſſaries they have occaſion for, and as often as they have a mind to call for them. Then they had *Goſſipred*, or *Compaternity*; which, tho' by the Canon-Law a Spiritual affinity, yet no Nation ever made ſo Religious account of it as the *Iriſh*. Now theſe,

Foſterings.

and

and many other ſuch like Cuſtoms, made ſtrong Parties, and Factions, whereby the Great Men were enabled to oppreſs their Inferiours, and to oppoſe their Equals. Beſides which, their frequent Divorces, their Promiſcuous Begetting of Children, and neglect of Lawful Matrimony, were no ſmall Temptations for vitious Minds to degenerate, and fall into the like Extreams. 1692.

Thoſe were the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms which the *Engliſh* Collonies did embrace, after they had rejected the Civil and Honourable Laws of *England*, which eſpecially fell out in the later end of King *Edward* the Second, and the beginning of King *Edward* the Third, proving of very Fatal Conſequence to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom; the degenerate *Engliſh* being always harder to ſubdue, than the Natives; for tho' their Minds and Manners were alter'd, yet they had ſo much Engliſh Blood left in their Veins, as gave them Engliſh Courage, and Reſolution; whereby the *Fitz Geralds*, and Earl of *Deſmond*'s Rebellions were worſe than thoſe of meer *Iriſh*.

Then Sir *John Davis* proves out of ſeveral Records, that in former times moſt of the Inhabitants were not the King's Tenants, but derived their Titles from the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* Noblemen, who kept an awe and dependance upon them; for tho' the Kings of *England* were formerly owned as Lords of *Ireland*, yet the Lords of *Ireland* Ruled as Kings, and were ſo ſtiled by the Kings of *England* themſelves, as appears by the Concord made between *Henry* 2. and *Rotherick O Connor* King of *Conaght* in the Year 1175, Recorded by *Hoveden* in this Form, *Hic eſt finis & Concordia inter Dominum Regem Angliæ Henricum filium imperatricis & Rodoricum Regem Conactæ, ſcilicet, quod Rex Angliæ conceſſit prædicto Roderico Legeo Homini ſuo ut ſit Rex ſub eo, paratus ad ſervitium ſuum, ut homo ſuus, &c.* And King *Henry* the II. making

Iriſh *Lords formerly ſtiled Kings.*

William

1692. *William Fitz Audelm* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, he hath it thus in his Commiſſion; *Archiepiſcopis Epiſcopis, Regibus, Baronibus, & omnibus fidelibus ſuis in* Hibernia *ſalutem.* King *John* alſo granted divers Characters unto the *Iriſh* Lords, under the Title of Kings; and ſo did *Henry* the III*d.* unto a Petty-King of *Thoumond*, *Rex Regi* Thoumond, *Salutem*, &c. Thoſe Governed the People by their *Brehon* Laws; they made their own Magiſtrates, and Officers; they Pardoned, and Puniſhed all Malefactors, and made War and Peace one with another, without Controulment.

After which ſeveral Attempts were made, and Rebellions, more or leſs, broke out in every King's Reign. And to omit thoſe of *Perkin Warbeck* and others, in the Reign of *Henry* 7. The Rebellion of *Fitz Gerald* and the reſt of that Faction in King *Henry* 8*th*'s time, in the Year 1535. coſt *England* Forty Thouſand Pounds, a Summ reputed ſo great in thoſe days, and ſo much diſturbed that bluſtering Prince, that he called the appeaſing this Rebellion a *New Conqueſt*, and put the Queſtion to his Council, how *Ireland* ſhould be managed to bear the Charge of its own preſervation, and whether by Act of Parliament every Man's Eſtate ſhould not be made liable to contribute its proportion? or wehther by Virtue of this *New Conqueſt*, the King might not ſeize on all the Eſtates of that Kingdom Temporal and Spiritual? *Cox* 242.

A Statute againſt Abſentees.

But tho' this wou'd not do, yet he found out another way to make a Statute againſt Abſentees, whereby a great part of the County of *Carlow* was taken from the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Lands from other great Men, and from ſome Monaſteries in *England* that held Land in *Ireland*, for that by the abſence of theſe, and the neglecting their own private Eſtates (whereby the *Iriſh*

Iriſh daily gained ground) they brought the Publick into danger. However this Rebellious Spirit continued in *Ireland* all Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, even to the ninth of King *James* the Firſt, as Sir *John Davis* obſerves; but if he had lived in our days, he wou'd have ſeen good reaſons to ſay *it was always the Genius of the People.* And one Mr. *Lawrence* has ſince that, endeavoured to prove that *Ireland* was never intirely ſubjected to the Crown of *England*, nor the Lands properly called the King's Lands, until the Act of Settlement paſſed in the 12*th* Year of King *Charles* the Second; for before this, the Chief Inhabitants in all Cities and Towns were Papiſts, as Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, *&c*, by which means that Party was wonderfully encouraged and ſtrengthened; and beſides, the *Iriſh* before the late Rebellion, were by far the greateſt Proprietors, tho' afterwards they enjoyed not much above a fifth part of the whole (that is in propriety) by which means, and the induſtrious Management of ſome of the Chief Governours, the *Engliſh* Intereſt was very far advanced in this Country before the death of King *Charles* the Second; for tho' ſome Clouds aroſe before, yet the Sun ſhone pretty clear, till the Death of that Monarch made it more than Twilight with the *Engliſh* of that Country; and then the late dark Night of Confuſion approached ſo ſuddenly, that it gave them no time to ſet things in Order, till they cou'd not in a manner ſee where they were a going: This put a full ſtop to the Carreer of all their Proſperity, for a great many conſiderable Buildings, and other Improvements in and about *Dublin*, and other places in the Kingdom, being pretty far advanced at that Juncture, they were left off very abruptly, the Workman throwing away his Tools, and the Husbandman neglecting his Plow at the News, as if they had then foreſeen their approaching Miſery, and were amazed to find the *Iriſh* arm ſo faſt on all hands, by which 1692.

1692. they were aſſured that other ſorts of Weapons than they had uſed for the Country's improving, were ſoon like to grow more in faſhion, and that to the undoing of what themſelves had ſo honeſtly endeavoured to make up. So that the *Iriſh* were not then, nor indeed are as yet ſo ſubdued, as that no further Storm may ever be feared to ariſe from that corner.

Ireland ſhou'd be put into a Condition to bear its own Burden.

And certainly the not thorowly endeavouring to make *Ireland* bear the Charge of its own preſervation, has in all Ages been very much to the diſadvantage of *England*. But to carry this no higher than the Year 1595, the time of *Tyrone's* Rebellion, which *Cambden* in his Annals tells us coſt 1198717 *l.* to ſuppreſs. Or if we compute the Charge of its firſt Conqueſt, and the ſuppreſſing the ſeveral Rebellions from that time till this of *Tyrone's*, to coſt but double as much as this did, (as they needs muſt, ſince before that, *Ireland* never enjoyed ſeven Years peace at one time.) Then, I ſay, long e're this, all thoſe Rebellions had been forgot, and the Trade and Product of *Ireland* more than trebly recompenced *England* for her former Blood and Treaſure: But as the Degenerate *Engliſh* grew more and more in love with the *Iriſh* and their Cuſtoms, and ſo took their part againſt *England*: The Charges encreaſed to more prodigious Sums; and they generally make uſe of it as a great Argument for what they did of late, that it was the Blood and Treaſure of their Anceſtors that firſt gained that Kingdom to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and therefore tho' they differed in Opinion, yet it was very unreaſonable that they ſhould be quite excluded from ſharing in the Government with thoſe that were of a much later Date. But this Objection is of an older ſtanding than either the former War, or this laſt; for we are told that ſo great Heats have aroſe formerly between the *Engliſh* of Birth, and the *Engliſh* of Blood in *Ireland*; that they held different Parliaments, and en-

endeavoured by all means Poſſible to ruine one another: But 'tis obſerv'd by very Learned Men in this Kingdom, that tho' the *Engliſh* have often fallen out amongſt themſelves, and there were generally found in many places of the Kingdom ſuch of *Engliſh* extraction, as would joyn with the *Iriſh* againſt *England*; yet the People of the Pale were always firm, and Loyal to the Crown, and the greateſt ſtrength that *England* had againſt the *Iriſh* Nation (for which they were often plentifully Rewarded) 'till in the Year 1641, they all broke looſe, which they ſay was occaſioned thus. 1692.

Tho ſince the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, there have been continued feuds in that Kingdom, between the People of both Nations, upon the accounr, of Intereſt; yet when the Reformation was once ſet on foot, the Breach was widned upon that accounr, it being what the Natives of that Country have always endeavoured to deſtroy, and with it the *Engliſh* Intereſt there; but finding this a very difficult Task, by reaſon that the old *Engliſh* of the Pale, tho' many of them were of the ſame Religion with the *Iriſh*, yet they cou'd never be perſwaded to ſtand up for a mere *Iriſh* Intereſt, till the *Iriſh* (in the Province of *Ulſter* eſpecially) found out the two following Expedients; firſt to intermarry with the *Engliſh* of the Pale, and to ſeek all opportunities of making alliance with them; and ſecondly, to perſwade the *Engliſh* Gentry always to breed up one of their Sons a Prieſt, by whom, and their *Iriſh* Wives, the *Engliſh* were managed to that degree, that tho' at the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion in 1641. they ſeemed to deteſt the *Iriſh* ways of proceeding, yet in a few Months after, a great part of them openly joyned with the *Iriſh*, and this with the conſtant troubles in *England*, were the Reaſons why that Rebellion was the longeſt in ſuppreſſing, and alſo the moſt expenſive of any before it, being on foot 12 Years, *viz.* from the 23*d.* of *October*, 1641. until

What Methods the Iriſh *firſt took to make the old* Engliſh *joyn with them.*

A Brief Account of the Expences of the former War.

1692. til the 26*th.* of *September*, 1653. The Charge to *England* in ſuppreſſing of which, and the loſs that the Proteſtant Party in *Ireland* ſuſtained during this War, being computed by Sir *John Burlace* in his Hiſtory, to amount to Twenty two Millions One Hundred and Ninety One Thouſand Two Hundred and Fifty Eight Pounds, Three Shillings, and Three Pence. And others compute the whole Loſs, Coſt and Charges of the King and Proteſtant Party to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion, to amount to 34480000 *l.* And that the *Engliſh* Adventurers who advanced Money upon the Credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Years 41 and 42, paid 70 Years Purchaſe for that which was not worth above eight, and that the Souldiers paid 115 Years purchaſe for their Debenters, but thoſe People have a mad way of reckoning in the multiplying ſeveral of their particulars.

An Eſſay towards this. However, as to this laſt War that we have all ſeen, I pretend not to ſo great Skill as to know the Expences of it, only thus far is eaſily computed.

1. The Army that Landed with Duke *Schonberg*, and that came ſome time after into *Ireland*, with thoſe of the *Derry* and *Inniskillin* Troops, received into Pay under his Grace's Command in the Year 1689. being 9 Regiments and 2 Troops of Horſe, 4 Regiments of Dragoons, and 30 Regiments of Foot; the whole pay for which in one Year comes to —— —— 869410 *l.* 7 *s.* 06 *d.*

2. His Majeſty's Royal Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1690, Conſiſting of 2 Troops of Guards, 23 Regiments of Horſe, 5 Regiments of Dragoons, and 46 Regiments of Foot; the Pay of which, conſidering the difference between the Numbers in the Foreign Regiments and our own, amounts to —— —— 1287630 *l.* 02 *s.* 00 *d.*

3. The Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1691. Commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginckel*, being 20 Regiments of Horſe, 5 of Dragoons, and 42 Regiments of

of Foot; whose Pay for that Year came to —— 1692.
——1161830 *l.* 12 *s.* 10 *d.*

Then the General Officers Pay, the Train, Bread, Waggons, Transport Ships, and other Contingencies, make at least as much more, which is
——6637742 *l.* 05 *s.* 00 *d.*

And the *Irish* Army living for the most part upon the product of the Country, cou'd not cost much less. Besides the farther Destruction of the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, by cutting down Improvements, burning of Houses, destroying of Sheep and Cattle, taking away of Horses; with Infinite other Extortions and Robberies, as also the loss of People on both sides; most of which, however disaffected, yet they were Subjects to the Crown of *England*.

A modest Conjecture at the Numbers lost on both sides during the War.

As to the particulars of our and their losses of People in both Armies since the Landing of Duke *Schonberg* in *Ireland*, the best Computation I have been able to make by comparing Accounts, and conferring on both sides with those that have made some Observations on that matter, the thing runs thus.

Irish Officers killed	00617
Souldiers killed, belonging to the *Irish* Army	12676
Rapparees killed by the Army and Militia	01928
Rapparees hanged by Legal Process, or Court-Marshal	00112
Rapparees killed and hanged by Souldiers and others, without any Ceremony	600
Officers killed in the *English* Army	00140
Soldiers killed in the Field	02037
Murdered privately by the Rapparees that we had no account where they died	00800
English and Foreign Officers died during the three Campaigns	00320
Souldiers dead in the *English* Army since our Landing in *Ireland*	7000

Tho'.

1692. Tho' its to be obſerved that in the two laſt Campaigns there died very few except Recruits, and ſuch as died of their Wounds: Nor are we to believe that the *Iriſh* did not loſe a great many by Sickneſs alſo, but no doubt the Deſtruction of the People in the Country wou'd do more than double all theſe Numbers; ſo that by the Sword, Famine, and all other accidents, there has periſhed, ſince firſt the *Iriſh* began to play their mad Pranks, there have died, I ſay, in that Kingdom, of one ſort and another, at leaſt One Hundred Thouſand, Young and Old, beſides treble the Number that are Ruined and undone.

All which being conſidered, it's certainly moſt expedient to find out an Eternal Remedy that the like may never happen again. And this I humbly ſuppoſe muſt not be any endeavour to root out and deſtroy the *Iriſh*, but in the advancing the *Engliſh* Intereſt both in Church and State in that Kingdom, ſo as to make the *Iriſh* themſelves in love with it.

The Intereſt of England *to advance the Power of the* Engliſh *in* Ireland.

And tho' it has been the Ruining Fate of that Kingdom to have ſome great Men, both in Court, and Parliament, Judge it the Intereſt of *England* to keep *Ireland* poor and low; and it may ſeem ſtrange to hear an *Engliſh* Man by Birth (and a meer Stranger to the having any Intereſt in *Ireland*) to endeavour the contradicting of it: But in my humble Opinion, whatſoever may be allowed in this, as to the promoting the private Advantages of a great many Trading People, and even Men of Eſtates in *England*, which all would ſuffer by the advancing of theſe in *Ireland*, yet it's ſo far from being the real Intereſt, either of the Kingdom of *England*, to cramp *Ireland* in its Proſperity, that the Wealth and Greatneſs of *Ireland* in Trade and Manufactures is to be promoted both by the King and People of *England* as much as poſſibly it can. And firſt, as to the Kings of *England*, it is the ſame thing to them whether

whether they have their Cuſtoms from *Briſtol*, or *Dublin*, from *Cork*, or *Newcaſtle*, &c. or whether their Levies of Men, when occaſion offers, are made in the Counties of *Wickloe*, and *Waterford*, *Cumberland*, or *Yorkſhire*, provided the Intereſt were one and the ſame in both Kingdoms: And as to the People of *England* in general, one ſhou'd think it's their buſineſs to promote and encourage the Trade and Proſperity of *Ireland*, that thereby it might not only ſupport it ſelf in time of Peace, but defend and maintain it ſelf in War, which nothing but promoting its Trade and Wealth will do: For what *Ireland* cannot do in order to its ſafety, *England* muſt ſupply to prevent its own danger; ſince if ever a Foreign Enemy Surprize and Poſſeſs *Ireland*, eſpecially the *French*, then *England* muſt maintain a greater Standing Force to ſecure themſelves, than wou'd have ſecured *Ireland*, if imploy'd in its defence; it being no groundleſs Saying of ſome Old-faſhion'd Poet. 1692.

He that wou'd England *win*,
Muſt with Ireland *firſt begin.*

For tho' in former times, when little or no Shipping appear'd upon theſe narrow Seas, and *France*, and other Countries knew not what it was to have a Fleet, and there was but ſmall Commerce, even between *England* and *Ireland* themſelves; yet in this active Age of the World, it wou'd go very hard with *England*, if the *French* ſhou'd poſſeſs *Ireland*, who have all the Harbours from *Dunkirk*, to *Breſt*; and if they had *Cork*, *Baltimire*, and *Bantry*, where wou'd our Weſtern Trade be? Beſides, by the poſſeſſing the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Ireland*, they wou'd ſurround three parts in four of *England*, and a great part of *Scotland*, and cou'd Invade either when they pleas'd; which wou'd neceſſitate *England* to be always at the Charge of a Conſiderable Standing Army, and then farewell both their Wealth, and long enjoy'd Liberty.

And

1692. And ſo ſenſible have our Anceſtors been of ſomething or other to be done in this Affair, that Sir *Henry Sidney*, that moſt excellent Governour, who had ſpent great part of his time in that Kingdom, holding a Parliament there, for a Subſidy, in the Eleventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, He, with the Lords, and Commons in the Preamble to the Act of Parliament, thus expreſs themſelves to the Queen. *Conſidering the infinite maſſes of Treaſure able to purchaſe a Kingdom, that your Noble Progenitors have exhauſted, for the Government, Defence, and Preſervation of Your Majeſties Realm of* Ireland, *&c.*

Our Anceſtors ſenſible of this.

Which Evils ſtill remaining, the Remedies are as yet to be found out, at leaſt to be put in practice; for tho' the War be now happily ended, yet there are at this day at leaſt three differnt Intereſts on Foot in that Kingdom; the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots*; the firſt of which, ſeem to be the leaſt concern'd in their own advancement; but the laſt gain ground daily in the North, there being at leaſt Ten Thouſand People come thither out of *Scotland* within theſe Twelve Months; which in time will make their Party Conſiderable; for the People of *England* live better than the *Scots* at home, and ſo are not ſo eaſily invited to look abroad. Whereas the *Scots* their part of *Ireland* by this means in a few Years is like to be more than it has been. And as to the *Iriſh*, every one ſees their indefatigable Induſtry in promoting the Intereſt of their own Party, no diſcouragements being able to blunt, but rather ſerve to ſharpen their endeavours for the effecting of what they believe may be ſome ſteps towards their future Proſperity, making every particular Man's Caſe a general Grievance, and each aſſiſting other, as being all concerned in the ſame general cauſe, whilſt the *Engliſh*, even in that Country, who ſtill feel the ſmart of their former Calamities, will yet rather ſett their Lands to an *Iriſh* Man or a *Scot*, that ſhall give them Sixpence in an Acre more, and never improve it further than

The former Evils ſtill remain.

than to an *Engliſh* Farmer, that, if he had Encouragement, wou'd in a few Years make good Improvements, which will ſtill continue one great reaſon why *Ireland* will not eaſily be made an *Engliſh* Country. 1692.

The Intereſt of the Iriſh Papiſts themſelves to Advance the Power of England.

But I can carry the matter yet higher, and affirm, that it's the real Intereſt of the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland* themſelves, whether of *Iriſh* or *Engliſh* Extraction, to promote that of *England* as much as they can in their Country, if they will but conſult the future ſafety of themſelves and their Poſterity; ſince without the ſupport of ſome other Nation they can never hope of themſelves to be an Independant Kingdom; and if they were, we ſcarcely can find out how they wou'd agree amongſt themſelves, who ſhould Command, or who Obey, which they never could yet from the beginning do; and what did the *Iriſh* ever get by accompanying either their Lords or Followers into Rebellion? Or what ſhould they have gotten if the late Attempt had abſolutely ſucceeded, but a more abſolute Servitude under the *French*? And therefore it's better for them to have their old *Engliſh* Friends they have been ſo long acquainted with, than run the hazard of either ſetting up new Tyrants of their own, or having them come to 'em from abroad.

Beſides, if the *Engliſh* Intereſt were ſtrong and powerful in *Ireland*, this wou'd cut off the hopes of all diſaffected People for ever thinking to withſtand it, and wou'd make them reject all Tenders from abroad, and Intiſements from their Jeſuited Prieſts at home, and never wou'd they more run ſuch deſperate Risks which ſtill fall upon their own heads at laſt; ſo that if the *Engliſh* Intereſt were ſo fortified, that all hopes of removing it were cut off, the *Iriſh* would not be prevailed upon to make ſuch deſtructive attempts to themſelves and Poſterities, as they often have done hitherto by the Inſinuations of their Prieſts, who have nothing to loſe, nor Families to provide for, but only hazard the Lives and Fortunes of others that have both.

1692 Since (as Sir *William Petty* obſerves) *there are, and ever will be in* England *Men ready for any Exploit and Change, either by being diſcontented with their preſent Condition, or otherways well inclined to the ſervice, more than are ſufficient to quell any Inſurrection which the* Iriſh *can make and abide by:* Which wou'd ſpare both the Blood and Treaſure of *England*, if thoſe of that Nation in *Ireland*, cou'd do it of themſelves.

Two Objections anſwered. There are only two Objections that I know of, which ſeem to be conſiderable againſt this Opinion of promoting the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland*: The firſt, that if *Ireland* ſhould be encouraged ſo far as to make it altogether an *Engliſh* Country, it would drain the wealth and Inhabitants of *England* to that degree, that we ſhould impoveriſh our ſelves, by putting our Trade into their hands, who wou'd be equal, if not Superiour to us in a ſmall time, ſince their Country lies as Convenient in all reſpects for Trade as ours, and has ſeveral Advantages above it. *Anſwer.* This would rather incourage *England* to be more induſtrious in Trade and Manufactures, when they ſaw their younger Siſter of *Ireland*, by having the ſame priviledges of Trade with her ſelf, begin to contend with her in this particular, and would create a profitable emulation amongſt the People of both Kingdoms; ſince I have not that Opinion of Trade, that ſome People have of Motion; that there's a determinate quantity, and when it fails in one place, it increaſes in another. There is Trade enough no doubt abroad in the World for them all, if they will but be Induſtrious; however, there can no diſadvantage accrue either to the King of *England*, or his People in general, by having this effected, nay, this wou'd ſoon be more for the advantage of the Crown of *England*, than any poor Cuſtoms that are got by dividing the Nations can ever amount to; for who ſees not the good effects of the *Union* between *England*, and *Wales*?

But then thoſe who are ſo hardy as to leave *England*, and venture their Lives and Fortunes at any time, for the

the reducing of *Ireland*, if they ſurvive it, and once come to ſettle there, they are ſo far from having Encouragement to Trade and grow Rich, that by ſeveral Laws made on the account of Trade, they are under the ſame Circumſtances with the Conquered *Iriſh* themſelves, as all the *Engliſh* of that Kingdom really are in the point of all the *Weſtern* Trade eſpecially. 1692.

The other Objection is, That if *Ireland* were ſo far encouraged in Trade and other Advantages, as to become abſolutely an *Engliſh* Country, and equally Entitled to the Benefit of its Laws, *&c.* the People there, after ſome time wou'd grow Rich, and conſequently Proud, ſo that they wou'd then ſet up for themſelves, and deny all manner of dependance upon *England*, which would ſoon create a more dangerous Civil War than ever. *Anſwer*, There can be no fear of this, ſince nothing cou'd be got by ſuch a Revolt, but their own deſtruction; and it's as probable, that the *Engliſh* on the *North* of *Trent*, ſhould upon any diſguſt endeavour to ſet up for themſelves, which they are ſenſible could bring nothing but Ruin to the whole: Beſides, ſince the Royal Seats of the Kings, the Principal Courts of Judicature, and alſo the Royal Navy are always on this ſide the Water, all Attempts of this kind wou'd prove vain and fruitleſs, and the reſt of the World laugh at ſuch a Deſtructive folly and madneſs.

I pretend not to meddle with any particular Methods, for the promoting the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*, only it's worth the Knowledge, and Care of every one, eſpecially thoſe in places of Authority and Truſt; what was in my Lord *Barkley*'s Inſtructions (Dated *May* 21 (1670.) relating to Matters of Religion. *That foraſmuch as all good Succeſs doth reſt upon the Service of God, above all things you are to ſettle good Orders in the Church, that God may be better ſerved in the True Eſtabliſhed Religion, and the People by that means reduc'd from their Errors.* *Religion in the firſt Place to be taken care of.*

1692. But whilſt the *Iriſh* are in the Power of the *Romiſh* Clergy, they keep them in ſuch Awe and Ignorance, that they ſcarce dare, or can enquire into the differences in Religion, nor Read the Scriptures, or yet conſer with any Proteſtant Divine, ſo that all they generally know of Religion (I ſpeak of the Vulgar Sort) is ſome Fabulous Legends of the Prieſts Invention, or that their Fathers or Families were of that Perſuaſion, and ſo muſt they be alſo: But tho' they be much given to Lying, yet they are not in the main ſo ill-natured as ſome People make them, ſince they own our Baptiſm and other Inſtitutions to be Eſſential, and will of their own accords come to us, when they have not the conveniency of a Prieſt, ſeveral inſtances of which, I could give of my own Knowledge.

There are a great many very Learned, Pious, and Devout Clergymen of the Proteſtant Church in *Ireland*, diſcharging the Duties of their Function, with ſuch Religious and Godly Sincerity, as becomes the Meſſengers of Chriſt: But there being a great many Impropriations in that Kingdom; and by this means, half a ſcore Pariſhes in ſome places, not able to afford one Hundred Pounds *per Annum* to a Miniſter, this has given occaſion for the Union of ſeveral Pariſhes, and not only ſo, but for frequent Pluralities, and that in ſeveral places, very much to the diſadvantage of the Church, by which means there are a great many Pariſhes Inhabited only with Papiſts, which for that Reaſon are generally called *Sine Cures*, as if the Miniſter had no Buſineſs there at all. But this I can by no means Subſcribe unto, ſince to me they ſeem to be the clean contrary, and not impoſſible to remedy, by finding out ſome means to allow each Miniſter a Competency, and then oblige him to reſide upon it, whether his Pariſhioners be *Papiſts* or *Proteſtants*; ſince the Living among thoſe People, and the frequent Converſation with them, wou'd be of more force than all the Penal Laws in *Chriſtendom*.

There

There was a view of *Ireland*, writ by *Spencer*, as I take it, towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and amongſt other things, he has this Remarque. *Several* Iriſh *Families* (ſays he) *are already become* Engliſh, *and more would, if the* Engliſh *would do their parts, in ſupplying the Country with Learned, Pious, and painful Preachers, who cou'd Out-Preach, and Out-Live the* Iriſh *Prieſts: For Religion muſt not be forcibly impoſed upon them with Terrors and ſharp Penalties* (*as now is the manner*) *but rather delivered and intimated with Mildneſs and Gentleneſs, ſo as it may not be hated before it be underſtood, which yet is not ſo difficult a Task as ſome People make it, for if the Ancient Godly Fathers, who firſt Converted them, when they were Infidels, to the Faith, were able to pull th m from Idolatry and Paganiſm, to the true Belief of Chriſt* (*as St.* Patrick *and St.* Columb) *how much more eaſily ſhall Godly Teachers bring them to the Underſtanding of that, which they already Profeſs; if they did but ſhew as much Zeal in diſſwading them from their Errors, as the Prieſts do Care and Induſtry to keep them in them.* 1692.

However, thusfar *Spencer* ſeems to be in the right of it; That True Religion is not to be planted by Penal Laws, or the Terrour of Puniſhment, which may fill a Church with Temporizing Hypocrites, but never with Sincere Profeſſors; for tho' Humane Laws are a good Hedge about Religion, and an Encouragement to Vertue, yet that which is ſolely founded upon ſuch, binds the Conſcience no longer than thoſe Laws are in force.

But what I am ſorry to ſee ſo true, is, that *Idleneſs* is the *malus* Genius of that Kingdom, and except you can perſuade the People to be Induſtrious too, as well as Religious, you are not much nearer the matter, for they are Naturally a lazy Crew, and love nothing ſo much as their eaſe, and if an *Iriſhman* has but a Cow and a Po-toe Garden, it's all the Wealth he commonly aſpires to; which

1692. which way of Feeding, a great many give for the Reaſon, that they are generally ſo mean ſpirited, for you'll ſee them in Companies lye loytering in the Streets of any Country Village, or by the High-way ſides, enquiring after, and telling News to one another, but not one in twenty, either at work in the Fields, or otherways Honeſtly imploy'd, which is the Reaſon, that at this very day, moſt of the Goals of the Kingdom are filled with Thieves, and the Streets with incredible numbers of importunate houling Beggars, who yet moſt of them had rather Live ſo than otherways.

But I'm afraid, a great many People will think I have been too buſie, and therefore I have only this to ſay further; that notwithſtanding all the Wagers, that have been proffer'd of late, whether *Ireland* would not be in the *French* King's Hands by ſuch a time; I dare freely venture one of as great value as I am able, that tho' he begin to morrow, it will not be in his Power, with all the Force he can ſpare to take it, from that handful of Men left in that Kingdom for its ſecurity, theſe Seven Years, for if the *Iriſh*, who were but indifferently provided for at beſt, were able to hold it out ſo long, againſt all the Power and Strength of *England*; what can Men that have better Supplies, and full as good Hearts do?

An Invaſion from France upon any of the three Kingdoms not very practicable at this time.

And as for thoſe vain hopes of that unhappy Party, who are ſtill buoyed up with the Fancy of the *French* King's Greatneſs, and that he will at ſome time or other, certainly make an Invaſion, either upon *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; any who know what War means, can aſſure them, that it's much ſooner ſaid than done. For if his preſent Majeſty of *England*, was obliged to imploy nigh 600 Veſſels, when at his firſt coming he Tranſported only 14000 Men into this Kingdom; and if the *Iriſh* War has for Three Years paſt, imployed ſuch a conſiderable number of Tranſport Ships in that narrow Channel, between *England* and *Ireland*, which lye ſo conveniently

ently and contiguous one to another; what Proviſion must needs be made in *France* for ſuch an Attempt, as an Invaſion upon any of the Three Kingdoms, which if it miſcarries, they are certainly undone? For ſuppoſe the *French* ſtill a match for our Fleet (which I hope they will never be now whilſt the World ſtands) and the *French* Invaſion deſigned upon *England*, tho' there be a Factious and unnaturally diſcontented Party there, that are no well wiſhers to the preſent Government, yet there are ſo many Loyal and True Hearted *Engliſh-Men* ſtill left at home, that all the Ships in *France* are not able to Tranſport Men enough from thence to ſubdue them, ſince we know their affection to both the *French* and *Iriſh* that are with them, ſhould they once indeavour to look into *England*, whoſe Strength is in the Hearts and Affections of the People, intirely devoted to Their Majeſties Service. 1692.

I allow that 20000 well Diſciplin'd and Experienc'd Men are able to beat four times the number of Raw unexperienc'd Country People, but then I leave the *Engliſh* ſtanding Army, and a well Diſciplined Militia, eſpecially in and about the City of *London*, to ſhew how unwelcome the *French* wou'd be to them.

And as for *Scotland*, its Soyl in moſt places is Naturally poor and barren, and an Army of Foreigners Landed there, muſt either eat Heath or one another in a ſmall time, if once they leave the Coaſt; for admit they have Proviſions brought by Sea into their Harbours, yet the Country in few places is ſo level as to admit of either a marching Train of Artillery, or of Proviſion Waggons, which an Army has no Buſineſs any where without, and ſoon wou'd look very fooliſh for want of, ſuppoſe but an indifferent Enemy to oppoſe them.

Then as for an Invaſion to be made upon *Ireland*; the Country is already ſo deſtroyed by being the Seat of War, that whoſoever attempts it, muſt bring all from abroad likewiſe, as well Horſes as Proviſions, which is

no

1692. no eaſie Task of it ſelf, ſuppoſe no oppoſition either at Sea or in the Country; but then our Garriſons eſpecially upon the Coaſts, are made ſo ſtrong to our Hands by the *Iriſh* themſelves by the help and directions of the beſt *French* Ingineers, and are Manned with part of an Experienced and Victorious Army, that it will not be the work of a few days to pick any of them out of our hands, ſince there is Ammunition, Artillery, and Proviſions ſuitable to each Garriſon's Neceſſities.

And as an advantage to the eſtabliſhed ſtanding Army now in *Ireland*, conſiſting of Colonel *Woolſley's* Horſe, Colonel *Wynns*, and Colonel *Eiklin's* Dragoons, Sir *Jo. Hanmer's*, Briggadeer *Stuart's*, Colonel *Guſtavus Hambleton's*, Earl of *Drogheda's*, Sir *Henry Belliſis*, Colonel *Roe's*, Colonel *Coot's*, Colonel St. *John's*, Colonel *Muthelburns*, and Colonel *Creighton's* Foot, beſides Colonel *Frederick Hambleton's*, and three *French* Regiments, all upon the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, as alſo the Earl of *Donegal's* Foot, and Colonel *Cunningham's* Dragoons now raiſing; beſides all theſe, I ſay, what deſerves no mean Character, is the Militia of *Ireland*, being formerly at leaſt Twenty Five Thouſand Men, and tho' they cannot make ſo many now, this War having deſtroy'd a great many Proteſtants, yet whoever ſerve now upon that account, are all well Armed and Experienced Active Men, which circumſtances being all known to *France*, they will ſcarce hazard all upon ſuch uncertainties (ſuppoſe they were really at leiſure to do it,) as an Invaſion upon any of their Majeſties Dominions muſt needs prove.

A Remark upon the laſt that endeavoured it.

It may alſo be remembred, that the *Spanyards* in the Year 1588, had not only a great mind to *Ireland*, but with a powerful Army endeavoured alſo to Invade *England*; in which Attempt, their loſs was ſo conſiderable, that they have not as yet recover'd it: And the diſappointment that the *French* King met withall the very laſt Year, in ſuch another undertaking, gives us more than ordinary hopes, that thro' God's Bleſſing, it will always ſo be done to the Enemies of *England*.

FINIS.